

THE
L I F E,
OF THE REV.
JOHN WESLEY, M.A

SOME TIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

COLLECTED FROM HIS PRIVATE PAPERS AND PRINTED WORKS;
AND WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF HIS EXECUTORS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS ANCESTORS AND RELATIONS:
WITH THE LIFE OF THE
REV. CHARLES WESLEY, M. A.

COLLECTED
FROM HIS PRIVATE JOURNAL, AND NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

The whole forming

A HISTORY OF METHODISM,

In which the Principles and Economy of the Methodists are unfolded.

Copied chiefly from a London Edition, published

BY JOHN WHITEHEAD, M. D.

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TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

An Appendix,

CONTAINING CHARACTERS OF THE
REV. MESSRS. JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY,
As given by several learned Contemporaries.

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VOL. II.  
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— *In labours more abundant* —
A workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing
the word of Truth, PAUL.

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## TO THE READER

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FOR many years, I have felt an ardent desire, that the Biography of *two* of the most zealous and useful Characters, who have lived since the Apostolic days, should be universally introduced to the religious world.

Having communicated my intentions to a few friends; by their counsel, in July 1804, I published a *Prospectus* of the present Work; and submitted my Plan to the *Irish Conference*, then assembled in Dublin, hoping for their Patronage. This I deemed needful to state, to evince my earnest desire of acting in unison with that great body of men, the effects of whose ministerial labours establish a divine call. As no official objection to the disseminating of these volumes, was received, in due time they were edited and committed to Press. And here I must avow,

VOL. II. A that



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THE  
L I F E  
OF THE  
*Reverend John Wesley.*

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BOOK THE SECOND.

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CHAPTER III.

*Of Mr. Wesley's Voyage to America, of his labours there, and return to England, in 1738.*

IT has been already observed, that Mr. *Wesley*, at this time, had very imperfect notions of the method proposed in the Gospel, of attaining true christian experience. He did indeed differ, in some things, from the generality of the Clergy in the Church of *England*: he carried his notions of gospel holiness much further than they thought, either necessary or attainable in this life; and believing, that an exact attendance on the instituted means of grace, with acts of charity, self-denial, and mortification, were the chief helps to attain it, he carried these particulars to an extent which made him appear singular. His

ardour to attain the end was exceeded by nothing but the exactness and rigour with which he practised, what he thought the means of attaining it. His extreme attention to every thing that might be helpful in subduing the evil propensities of his nature, and that might further his progress towards a conformity with Chirst, led him to consider and speak of the observance of little things, as of the utmost importance to his salvation. Not that he thought the things of so much importance in themselves, detached from others; but as filling up the more minute parts of a system of duties, which without them, would be incomplete and less beneficial to him. Like as a man straitened in his circumstances, and struggling to get forward in the world; if he only attended to the more important branches of his business, and wholly neglect the numerous little expences of his family, will soon find that they greatly retard his progress. Mr. *Wesley* reasoned in the same way, concerning the external helps and hinderances in a religious course of life, and therefore thought it his duty to abstain from the minutest thing that might be hurtful, and to practise every thing that might in any respect be useful to him. And as little things are too commonly overlooked, though great ones are made up of them, he might perhaps on this account speak more strongly of them than otherwise he would have done. However this be, his scrupulous exactness in things which seemed to others of little importance, or wholly indifferent in religion, chiefly attracted notice, and made him appear whimsical and superstitious, to persons who did not perceive the principle which governed his conduct. This lessened the dignity of his character in their opinion, and weakened his influence over those under his care. To this principle, therefore, which governed him in the smallest matters,

matters, we must attribute, in great measure, his want of success, and most of the inconveniences which he suffered in *Georgia*. Some may blame his want of prudence, because the principle on which he reasoned was sometimes carried too far; but his integrity, and upright intention will remain unsullied,

On Tuesday, the 14th of October, he set out for *Gravesend*, in order to embark for *Georgia*,\* accompanied

*Georgia* is situated between *Carolina* and *Florida*. It extends 120 miles upon the sea-coast, and 300 miles from thence to the *Apalachian* mountains, and its boundaries to the North and South, are the rivers *Savannah* and *Alatamaha*.—The settlement of a colony between the rivers *Savannah* and *Alatamaha*, was meditated in *England* in 1732, for the accomodation of poor people in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and for the further security of *Carolina*. Humane and opulent men suggested a plan of transporting a number of indigent families to this part of *America*, free of expence. For this purpose they applied to the King, *George II.* and obtained from him letters patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution what they had generously projected. They called the new province *Georgia*, in honour of the King, who encouraged the plan. A corporation, consisting of 21 persons was constituted by the name of, The Trustees for settling and establishing the colony of *Georgia*.

In November 1732, 116 settlers embarked for *Georgia*, to be conveyed thither free of expence, furnished with every thing requisite for building and cultivating the soil. Mr. *James Oglethorpe*, one of the Trustees, and an active promoter of the settlement, embarked as the head and director of these settlers. They arrived at *Charlestown* early in the next year. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, accompanied by *William Bull*, shortly after his arrival, visited *Georgia*; and after surveying the country, marked the spot on which *Savannah* now stands, as the fittest to begin their settlement. Here they accordingly began and built a small fort; a number of small huts for their defence and accommodation. Such of the settlers as were able to bear arms were embodied, and well appointed with officers, arms, and ammunition. A treaty of friendship was concluded between the settlers and their neighbours the *Creek Indians*, and every thing wore the aspect of peace and future prosperity. But the fundamental regulations established by the Trustees of *Georgia*, were ill adapted to the circumstances and

accompanied by his brother Mr. *Charles Wesley*, Mr. *Ingham*, of *Queen's-College, Oxford*, and Mr. *Dela-*  
*motte*, the son of a merchant in *London*. "Our end  
 (says he) in leaving our native country, was not to  
 avoid want, - God having given us plenty of temporal  
 blessings; nor to gain the dung or dross of riches  
 or honour; but singly this, to save our souls; to live  
 wholly to the glory of God." In the afternoon they  
 found the *Simmonds* off *Gravesend*, and immediately  
 went on board. The next day he wrote to his brother,  
 Mr. *Samuel Wesley*, of *Tiverton*, informing him that  
 he had presented his father's commentary on *Job*, to  
 the Queen, and had received many good words and  
 smiles. In this letter he declares his sentiments to his  
 brother, concerning the usual method of teaching  
 boys the heathen poets in large schools. "The un-  
 certainty (says he) of having another opportunity to  
 tell you my thoughts in this life, obliges me to tell  
 you what I have often thought of, and that in as few  
 and plain words as I can. Elegance of style is not to be  
 weighed against purity of heart; purity both from  
 the

and situation of the poor settlers, and of pernicious consequence to the  
 prosperity of the province. Like other distant legislators, who framed  
 their regulations on principles of speculation, they were liable to many  
 errors and mistakes; and however good their design, their rules were  
 found improper and impracticable. These injudicious regulations and  
 restrictions, the wars in which they were involved with the *Spaniards*  
 and *Indians*, and the frequent insurrections among themselves, threw  
 the colony into a state of confusion and wretchedness too great for  
 human nature long to endure. Their oppressed situation was represented  
 to the Trustees by repeated complaints, till at length finding that the  
 province languished under their care, and weary with the complaints  
 of the people, they, in the year 1752, surrendered their charter to the  
 King, and it was made a royal government.—*Georgia* is now a flourish-  
 ing state: what are called the upper counties are pretty generally sup-  
 plied with preachers of the *Baptist* and *Methodist* persuasion: but the  
 greater part of the state is without ministers of any denomination.

the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye, and the pride of life. Therefore, whatever has any tendency to impair that purity, is not to be tolerated, much less recommended for the sake of that elegance. But of this sort (I speak not from the reason of the thing only, nor from single experience) are most of the classics usually read in great schools: many of them tending to inflame the lusts of the flesh (besides *Ovid*, *Virgil's Æneid*, and *Terence's Eunuch*) and more to feed the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. I beseech you therefore, by the mercies of God, who would have us holy as he is holy, that you banish all such poison from your school, that you introduce in their place such christian authors as will work together with you in building up your flock in the knowledge and love of God. For assure yourself, dear brother, you are even now called to the converting of heathens as well as I.

“ So many souls are committed to you charge by God, to be prepared for a happy eternity. You are to instruct them, not only in the beggarly elements of *Greek* and *Latin*, but much more in the gospel. You are to labour with all your might to convince them, that Christianity is not a negation, or an external thing, but a new heart, a mind conformed to that of *Christ*; Faith, working by love.”

These sentiments have been spoken of as singular; and have been brought forward as an indirect evidence of Mr. *Wesley's* fondness for singularity. But if we understand them with a little candour, and the opinions of learned and pious men on the same subject be fairly stated, there will appear nothing singular in them. He here condemns the reading and explaining of the heathen poets, *indiscriminately*, to the youth in great schools; but we must not suppose, that he would

would have condemned a judicious selection from them. Indeed, after his school at *Kingswood* was fully established, he made such a selection for the use of it, so far as he thought would be necessary for the youth likely to be educated in it. His words being understood with this limitation, Mr. *Wesley* speaks nothing but what the most learned and pious men in the christian church, have in all ages unanimously spoken before him. Nay the heathen moralists themselves deliver the same sentiments concerning their own poets. “*Plato*, the wise and judicious philosopher, banished the poets from his imaginary commonwealth, and did not think them proper to be put into the hands of youth without great precaution; to prevent the dangers which might arise from them. \**Cicero* plainly approves of his conduct, and supposing with him, that poetry contributes only to the corruption of manners, to enervate the mind, and strengthen the false prejudices consequential of a bad education, and ill examples, he seems astonished that the instruction of children should begin with them; and the study of them be called by the name of learning and a liberal education.”†

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\* Videane poetæ quid mali afferant? Ita sunt dulces, ut non legantur modo, sed etiam ediscantur. Sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam, vitamque umbratilem et delicatam, cum accesserunt etiam poetæ, nervos virtutis elidunt. Recte igitur a Platone educuntur ex ea civitate quam finxit ille, cum mores optimos et optimum resp. Statum quæreret. At vero nos, docti Scilicet a Græcia, hæc et a pueritia legimus et didicimus. Hanc eruditionem liberalem et doctrinam putamus. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii.

† The Jews prohibited the tutors of their children from instructing them in pagan literature. Maledictus esto, says the *Gemara*, quisquis filium suum sapientiam Græcicam edocet.” Let him be accursed, whoever teaches his son Greek literature. The primitive Fathers of the church, were divided in their opinions on this subject. Some, forbade Christians to read any of the heathen writers, on account of their bad tendency, both as to principles and morals. The *Apocryphical* Constitutions, as they are called, speak in this

The two following days after he got on board, were spent with his friends, partly in the ship and partly on shore, in exhorting one another to shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before them. There being twenty-six *Germans* on board, members of the *Moravian Church*, Mr. *Wesley* immediately began to learn the *German* language, in order to converse with them; and *David Nitchman*, the *Moravian Bishop*, and two others began to learn *English*, that they might enjoy the benefit of mutual conversation. He observes, that he now first preached *extempore*

this strain, ab omnibus gentium libris abstinere: *abstain from all books of the Gentiles.* And though these Constitutions are not *Apostolical*, yet it is allowed on all hands, that they are very ancient. *Cotelerius* in a note on this passage, has shewn the different sentiments of many of the *Fathers*; and it is probable that a majority of them were of opinion, the heathen writers might be read with advantage, under certain restrictions and regulations. *Basil the great*, has an oration, shewing, *Quomodo ex scriptis Gentilium utilitatem capere debeamus: how we ought to reap advantage from the writings of the Gentiles.* The most learned and pious among the moderns, have very universally condemned the practice of indiscriminately reading the writings of the heathens. On this subject, *Eraismus* complains in one of his letters, *pro christianis reddamur pagani. Instead of Christians we are made Pagans.* And again, *animadverto, says he, juvenes aliquot, quos nobis remittit Italia, præcique Roma non-nihil ablatos hoc veneno. I observe some youths, returned from Italy, especially from Rome, infected with this poison.* *Buddei Isagoge*, par. 1. p. 147. *Buddeus* himself observes, after giving the opinions of several others, "Singulari utique hic opus esse circumspectione, negari nequit; cum facile contingat, ut qui ethnicorum scriptis toti veluti immerguntur, ethnicum, plane, alienumque a religione christiana, inde referant animum." *It cannot be denied that there is here need of singular circumspection, as it easily happens, that they who are, as it were wholly immersed in the writings of the heathens, return from them with a heathenish mind, alienated from the christian religion.* He then gives several examples of the bad influence of this practice on the minds of men of great abilities and learning; to which we might add the name of a late celebrated historian; and perhaps many others of our nation. The danger arises from the fondness which these persons contract for the studied and regular composition manifest in these writings, and for the flowers of oratory with which they dress out their fables and false notions of things.



*extempore*, though I believe he had done so once before in *London*. It was here that his acquaintance commenced with the *Moravian* brethren, which he cultivated for several years with great assiduity and success; and we must allow that the knowledge he acquired by their means, laid the foundation of the great things which followed in the subsequent part of his life.

It was a maxim with Mr. *Wesley* in the conduct of life, that every part of the day ought to be filled up with some useful employment; a man unemployed, being in constant danger of falling into foolish temptations and hurtful habits, the best preservative from which is industry. He therefore so arranged his business that he had a stated employment for every part of the day. This love of regularity in the improvement of his time, immediately shewed itself in his new situation. October 21, they sailed from *Gravesend*, and got into the *Dover*. “Now (says he) we began to be a little regular. Our common way of living was this: from four in the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five till seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understandings) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve I usually learned *German*, and Mr. *Delamotte*, *Greek*. My brother writ sermons, and Mr. *Ingham* instructed the children. At twelve we met, to give an account to one another what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally, as need required. At four were the evening prayers; when either  
the

the second lesson was explained (as it always was in the morning) or the children catechised, and instructed before the congregation. From five to six we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the passengers (of whom there were eighty *English* on board) and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the *Germans* in their public service ; while Mr. *Ingham* was reading between the decks, to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again, to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us.

This, no doubt, was prodigious labour ; and yet it may be safely affirmed, that during the fifty-five years and upwards, which followed, few days passed, in which, by one employment or other, the time was not filled up with equal exactness and diligence. It has indeed been doubted whether the human mind be capable of such unremitted attention through a multiplicity of business, without injury. The words of *Horace*, “ *Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo*,” have been quoted to shew, that the mind ought not always to be on the stretch. But these words were not spoken with any allusion to this subject. We may observe also, that varying our employment gives a considerable degree of relaxation to the mind. Every subject does not require the same stretch of thought ; nor every kind of exercise the same degree of exertion.

The wind being contrary, they did not sail from *Cowes* till the 10th of December.—On Thursday, the 15th of January 1736, complaint being made to Mr. *Oglethorpe* of the unequal distribution of water to the passengers, new officers were appointed, and the old ones

ones were highly exasperated against Mr. *Wesley*, who, as they supposed had made the complaint.—From the 17th to the 25th, they had violent storms, the sea going frequently over the ship, and breaking the cabin windows. On these occasions he found the fear of death brought him into some degree of bondage, and being a severe judge of himself he concluded, that he was unfit, because he was unwilling to die ; at the same time he could not but observe the lively victorious faith which appeared in the *Germans*, and kept their minds in a state of tranquillity and ease, in the midst of danger, to which he, and the *English* on board were strangers : speaking of these humble followers of Christ, he says, “ I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the *English* would undertake ; for which they desired and would receive no pay ; saying, “ It was good for their proud hearts, and their loving Saviour had done more for them.” And every day had given them occasion of shewing a meekness, which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away ; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying, whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm, wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the main-sail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the *English*. The *Germans* calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, “ Was you not afraid ?” He answered, “ I thank God, No.” I asked, “ But were not your women and children afraid ?” He replied

plied mildly, "No; our women and children are not afraid to die."

On the 29th, they fell in with the skirts of a hurricane, which however did no damage; on the 4th of February, they saw land; and on the 6th, after a stormy passage set first foot on *American* ground, on a small uninhabited island over against *Tybee*, where Mr. *Oglethorpe* led them to a rising ground and they returned God thanks, and then he took boat for *Savannah*.

During this passage Mr. *Wesley's* leading principle, that self-denial and mortification, were to him the chief means of holiness, shewed itself powerfully in his conduct. Judging, as he observes, that it might be helpful to him, he discontinued the use of flesh and wine, and confined himself to vegetables, chiefly rice and biscuit. He also left off eating suppers, and his bed having been wet by the sea, he lay upon the floor, and slept sound till morning. He speaks with an air of triumph on this unexpected victory over the common indulgence of using a bed to sleep in; and adds, "I believe, I shall not find it needful to go to bed, as it is called, any more."

February 7, Mr. *Oglethorpe* returned from *Savannah*, with Mr. *Spangenberg*, one of the pastors of the *German*s. "I soon found, says Mr. *Wesley*, what spirit he was of; and asked his advice with regard to my own conduct. He said, "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the spirit of God bear witness with your spirit, that you are the child of God?" I was surprised and knew not what to answer. He observed it, and asked, "Do you know *Jesus Christ*?" I paused and said, I know he is the saviour of the world. True; replied he; but do you know he has saved you? I answered, I hope he has died to save me. He only added, "Do you know yourself?" I said, I do. But I  
fear

fear they were vain words." On the 14th, some *Indians* came to them, and shook them by the hand, one of them saying, "I am glad you are come. When I was in *England*, I desired that some would speak the great word to me : and my nation then desired to hear it ; but now we are all in confusion. Yet I am glad you are come. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation ; and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians, as the *Spaniards* make Christians : we would be taught, before we are baptized."

The house at *Savannah*, where they were to reside, not being ready, Mr. *Wesley* with Mr. *Delamotte*, took up their lodging with the *Germans*. Here they had an opportunity of being better acquainted with them, and of closely observing the whole of their behaviour, from morning till night. Mr. *Wesley* gives them an excellent character. He tells us, "They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humour with one another. They had put away all anger, and strife, and wrath, and bitterness, and clamour, and evil speaking. They walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, and adorned the Gospel of our Lord in all things." He adds, "Feb. 28. They met to consult concerning the affairs of their church. After several hours spent in conference and prayer, they proceeded to the election and ordination of a bishop. The great simplicity, as well as solemnity of the whole, almost made me forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine myself in one of those assemblies where form and state were not ; but *Paul* the tent-maker, or *Peter* the fisherman presided ; yet with the demonstration of the spirit and of power."

Sunday,

Sunday, March 7. He entered on his ministry at *Savannah*, by preaching on the epistle for the day, being the 13th of the first of *Corinthians*. In the second lesson, *Luke* xviii. was our Lord's prediction of the treatment which he himself, and consequently his followers, was to meet with from the world.—He adds, “ Yet notwithstanding those plain declarations of our Lord ; notwithstanding my own repeated experience ; notwithstanding the experience of all the sincere followers of Christ, whom I have ever talked with, read, or heard of : nay and the reason of the thing, evincing to a demonstration, that all who love not the light must hate him who is continually labouring to pour it in upon them : I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces ; I could scarce refrain from giving the lie to experience and reason and scripture all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive serious people, would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spake it.”

On the 18th, Mr. *Wesley* wrote to his mother as follows : “ I doubt but you are already informed of the many blessings which God gave us in our passage ; as my brother *Wesley* must before now, have received a particular account of the circumstances of our voyage ; which he would not fail to transmit to you by the first opportunity.

“ We are likely to stay here some months. The place is pleasant beyond imagination ; and by all I can learn exceeding healthful,—even in summer, for those who are not intemperate. It has pleased God, that I  
my

have not had a moment's illness of any kind since I set my foot upon the Continent: nor do I know any more than one of my seven hundred parishioners, who is sick at this time. Many of them indeed, are, I believe, very angry already: for a gentleman, no longer ago than last night, made a ball; but the public prayers happening to begin about the same time, the church was full, and the Ball-room so empty, that the entertainment could not go forward.

“I should be heartily glad if any poor and religious men or women of *Epworth* or *Wroote*, would come over to me. And so would Mr. *Oglethorpe* too: he would give them land enough, and provisions gratis, till they could live on the produce of it. I was fully determined to have wrote to my dear *Emmy*\* to-day; but time will not permit. Oh hope ye still in God! for ye shall yet give him thanks, who is the help of your countenance, and your God! Renounce the world: deny yourselves: bear your cross with *Christ*, and reign with him! My brother *Hooper*, too has a constant place in our prayers. May the good God give him the same zeal for holiness which he has given to a young gentleman of *Rotterdam*, who was with me last night. Pray for us, and especially for, dear Mother, your dutiful and affectionate son, *John Wesley*.”

Mr. *Wesley* being now informed of the opposition which his brother *Charles* met with at *Frederica*; on the 22nd of March wrote to him the following letter—“How different are the ways wherein we are led, yet I hope toward the same end. I have hitherto no opposition at all: all is smooth, and fair, and promising. Many seem to be awakened: all are full of respect and commendation. We cannot see any cloud gathering

But

But this calm cannot last ; storms must come hither too : and let them come when we are ready to meet them.

“ ’Tis strange so many of our friends should still trust in God ! I hope indeed, whoever turns to the world, Mr. *Tackner* and *Betty*, with Mr. *Hird’s* family, and Mr. *Burk*, will zealously aim at the prize of their high calling. These especially I exhort by the mercies of God, that they be not weary of well doing, but that they labour more and more to be meek and lowly, and daily to advance in the knowledge and love of God. I hope too, Mr. *Weston*, Mr. *Moore*, Mr. *Allen*, and Mr. *White*, as well as Mr. *Ward* and his wife, continue in the same wise resolutions. I must not forget Mr. *Reed*, and Mr. *Daubry*, both of whom I left fully determined to shake off every weight, and with all their might pursue the one thing needful.

“ *Conciones omnes meas jamnunc habes, præter istas quas misi. Aliquæ in pyxide sunt (de quâ ne verbum scribis) unâ cum bibliis in quarto. Libra de disciplinâ quam celerrime potes, remittendus est. Quanta est concordia fratrum : Tui volo et fratris B. You have now all my sermons, except those which I have sent. Some are in the box (of which you say not a word) together with the Bible in quarto. The book of discipline must be sent back as soon as possible. How great is the concord of brethren : I mean of Thee and brother B.*

“ *You are not, I think, at liberty ἐπιφύλαξις εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἵνα οἱ συμφορέται σου ἐπωδῶσί σοι, to turn to the Gentiles till your own countrymen shall cast you out. If that period come soon, so much the better : only in the mean while, reprove and exhort with all authority, even though all men should despise thee. Ἀποβήσιναι σοι ἐκ μαρτύριον. It shall turn to thee for a testimony.\**

I conjure

\* See the same phrase, Luke xxi. 13.



“ I conjure you spare no time, no address or pains to learn the true cause τῆς πάλαι ἰδούσης τῆς φίλης μου,\* of the former distress of my friend. I much doubt you are in the right. Μη γίνωillo ἵναὐτω πάλιν αμαρτανῇ. Γενηέρεῖ, φυλάσσε, ὡς μάλιστα δύνη. Γράφε μοι, πῶς με δεῖ γράφειν πρὸς αὐτήν. God forbid, that she should again, in like manner miss the mark. Watch over her : keep her, as much as possible. Write to me, how to write to her.

“ If Mr. Ingham were here, I would try to see you. But omit no opportunity of writing. Κινδυνίω πάντας ὥραν. I stand in jeopardy every hour.—“ Let us be strong and very courageous ; for the Lord our God is with us : and there is no counsel or might against him !”

Mr. Charles took the hint his brother gave him, and on the 28th, sent Mr. Ingham to Savannah.† April 4th, Mr. Wesley set out for Frederica, in a Pettawga, a sort of flat-bottomed barge, and the following evening they anchored near Skidoway island, where the water at flood, was twelve or fourteen feet deep. Mr. Wesley wrapped himself up in a large cloak, and lay down on the quarter-deck : but in the course of the night he rolled out of his cloak, and fell into the sea, so fast asleep that he knew not where he was, till his mouth was full of water. He swam round to a boat, and got out without any injury, more than wetting his clothes. This instance gives us a lively view of his fortitude and presence of mind in the midst of surprise and danger.

Mr. Wesley left Frederica, and arrived at Savannah on the 20th. The next day he wrote to his brother ; and among other things observes, “ I still extremely pity poor Mrs. Hawkins : but what can I do more, till God shews me who it is that continually exasperates her against me ? Then I may perhaps be of some service

to

\* See a similar construction of πάλαι, 2 Pet. i. 9.

to her. There is surely some one who does not play us fair: but I marvel not at the matter. He that is higher than the highest regardeth ; and there is that is mightier than they—Yet a little while and God will declare who is sincere. Tarry thou the Lord's leisure and be strong, and he shall comfort thy heart."

On the same day he wrote to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and tells him, "*Savannah*, never was so dear to me as now. I believe, knowing by whom I send, I may write as well as speak freely. I found so little, either of the form or power of religion at *Frederica*, that I am sincerely glad I am removed from it. Surely, never was any place, no not *London* itself, freer from one vice, I mean Hypocrisy,

O curvæ in terris animæ, et cœlestium inanes !

*O grovelling Souls, bent to the earth, and void of heavenly good !*

"Jesus Master have mercy upon them—There is none of those who did run well, whom I pity more than Mrs. *Hawkins*: her treating me in such a manner would indeed have little affected me, had my own interests only been concerned. I have been used to be betrayed, scorned, and insulted by those I had most laboured to serve. But when I reflect on her condition, my heart bleeds for her—Yet with Thee nothing is impossible !

"With regard to one who ought to be dearer to me than her, I cannot but say, that the more I think of it the more convinced I am, that no one, without a virtual renouncing of the faith, can abstain from the public as well as the private worship of God. All the prayers usually read morning and evening at *Frederica* and here, put together, do not last seven minutes. These cannot be termed long prayers: no christian assembly ever

used shorter : neither have they any repetitions in them at all—If I did not speak thus plainly to you ; which I fear no one else in *England* or *America* will do, I should by no means be worthy to call myself, Sir, Your's, &c. *John Wesley.*"

Not finding as yet any open door for pursuing his main design of preaching to the *Indians*, he consulted with his companions, in what manner they might be most useful to the little flock at *Savannah*. It was agreed, 1. to advise the more serious among them, to form themselves into a little society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to reprove, instruct, and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other ; which might be forwarded partly by their conversing singly with each, and inviting them altogether to Mr. *Wesley's* house : and this accordingly they determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon. Here we see the first rudiments of the future economy of classes and bands, which has had no small influence in promoting the success of the Methodists beyond any other denomination of Christians, not immediately favoured by the civil power.

There subsisted at this time, a dispute between the Gentlemen of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, respecting the right of trading with the *Indians*. The dispute was brought into *Westminster-Hall*, and agitated on both sides with great animosity. Mr. *Wesley* had hitherto thought it his duty to confine himself to those things which immediately related to his office as a minister, and not to intermeddle with any thing that seemed foreign to it. But having considered the matter in debate, and the consequences of it to the province, he altered his sentiments, and on the 23d of July delivered his opinion on the subject in a letter to Mr. *Hutcheson*.

He

He observes, " By what I have seen during my short stay here, I am convinced that I have long been under a great mistake, in thinking no circumstances could make it the duty of a christian priest to do any thing else but preach the Gospel. On the contrary, I am now satisfied, that there is a possible case wherein a part of his time ought to be employed in what *less* directly conduces to the glory of God, and peace and good will among men. And such a case, I believe is that which now occurs ; there being several things which cannot so effectually be done without me ; and which, though not directly belonging to my ministry, yet are by consequence of the highest concern to the success of it. It is from this conviction that I have taken some pains to inquire into the great controversy now subsisting between *Carolina* and *Georgia* ; and in examining and weighing the letters wrote, and the arguments urged, on both sides of the question, And I cannot but think that the whole affair might be clearly stated in few words. A Charter was past a few years since, establishing the bounds of this province, and empowering trustees therein named to prepare laws, which when ratified by the King in Council, should be of force within those bounds. Those Trustees have prepared a law, which has been so ratified, for the regulation of the *Indian* trade, requiring that none should trade with the *Indians* who are within this province, till he is so licenced as therein specified. Notwithstanding this law, the governing part of *Carolina*, have asserted both in coversation, in writing, and in the public News-Papers, that it is lawful for any one not so licenced, to trade with the *Creek, Chenokee, or Chicasaw Indians* : they have past an ordinance, not only asserting the same, but enacting that men and money should be raised to support such traders ; and in fact they have

themselves licensed and sent up such traders both to the *Creek* and *Chicasaw* Indians.

“This is the plain matter of fact: now as to matter of right, when twenty more reams of paper have been spent upon it, I cannot but think it must come to this short issue at last: 1. Are the *Creeks*, *Cherokees*, and *Chicasaws*, within the bounds of *Georgia* or no? 2. Is an act of the King and Council, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, of any force within these bounds, or not? That all other inquiries are absolutely foreign to the question a very little consideration will shew. As to the former of these, the *Georgian* Charter compared with any map of these parts which I have ever seen, determines it: the latter I never heard made a question of, but in the neighbourhood of *Carolina*.

“Mr. *Johnson's* brother has been with us some days. I have been twice in company with him at Mr. *Oglethorpe's*: and I hope there are in *Carolina*, though the present proceeding would almost make one doubt it, many such gentlemen as he seems to be; men of good nature, good manners, and understanding. I hope God will repay you seven-fold for the kindness you have shewn to my poor mother, and in her to, Sir, your most obliged, most obedient servant, *John Wesley*.”

At the same time he wrote to Mr. *Vernon* on the same subject. “As short a time, says he, as I have for writing, I could not pardon myself if I did not spend some part of it in acknowledging the continuance of your goodness to my mother: which indeed neither she, nor I, can ever lose the sense of.

“The behaviour of the people of *Carolina*, finds much conversation for this place. I dare not say, whether they want honesty or logic most: it is plain a very little of the latter, added to the former, would shew how utterly foreign to the point in question, all their voluminous

minous defences are. Here is an act of the King in Council, past in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, forbidding unlicensed persons to trade with the *Indians* in *Georgia*. Nothing therefore can justify them in daily sending unlicensed Traders to the *Creek*, *Cherokee*, and *Chicasaw Indians*, but the proving either that this act is of no force, or that those *Indians* are not in *Georgia*. Why then are these questions so little considered by them, and others so largely discussed? I fear for a very plain, though not a very honest reason; that is, to puzzle the cause. I sincerely wish you all happiness in time and in eternity, and am, Sir, &c."

Sept. 13. He began reading over, with Mr. *Delamotte*, Bishop *Beveridge's* Pandectæ Canonum Conciliorum. "Nothing, says he, could so effectually have convinced me, that both particular and general councils may err, and have erred: and of the infinite difference there is between the decisions of the wisest men, and those of the Holy Ghost recorded in his word." Sept. 20, they ended the *Apostolical* Canons, so called, and Mr. *Wesley* acknowledges in his printed Journal; that he once thought more highly of them than he ought to think. "Bishop *Beveridge*, says he, observes, that they are the decrees of the several Synods, which met at several places, and on several occasions, in the second and third ages after *Christ*; and are therefore called *Apostolical*, because partly grounded upon, and partly agreeing with the traditions they had received from the *Apostles*. He further observes, that as they were enacted by different Synods, so they were collected by different persons; till about the year 500, *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, placed them at the head of the Canons which he collected into one Code.—But then he adds (Cod. Canon, p. 159.)<sup>\*</sup> they contain that discipline, which was used in the church when they were collected,

not

not when the Council of *Nice* met, for then many parts of them were useless and obsolete."

After Mr. *Charles* had left *Frederica*, and gone for *England* in the latter end of July, Mr. *Wesley* often visited that place; where he met with the most violent opposition, and the most illiberal abuse. He still however persevered in his endeavours to do them good, and on the 13th of October set out from *Savannah*, once more to visit them. He arrived at *Frederica* on the morning of the 16th, and met Mr. *Hird* on the Bluff, who gave him a melancholy account of the state of things there.\* The public service had been discontinued; and from that time every thing was grown worse and worse—"Even poor Miss *Sophy*† (says he,) was scarce the shadow of what she was when I left her. I endeavoured to convince her of it, but in vain: and to put it effectually out of my power so to do, she was resolved

\* Mr. *Wesley's* private Journal. See also his printed Journal in his Works, vol. xxvi. p. 149.

† This person was Miss *Sophy Causton*, afterwards Mrs. *Williamson*, Niece to Mr. *Causton*, Storekeeper and chief magistrate of *Savannah*. After her marriage she was the occasion of so much trouble to Mr. *Wesley*, that it evidently hastened his departure out of *America*. He has observed a silence in his printed Journal on some circumstances of this affair, which has induced many persons to suspect the propriety of his conduct in this business. He has however been more open in his private Journal, which was written at the time, as the circumstances arose. And as this private Journal and his other papers, lay open to the inspection of his friends for several years, I cannot help thinking that it would have been more to the reputation of themselves and Mr. *Wesley*, to have openly avowed the fact, that he did intend to marry Miss *Causton*, and was not a little pained when she broke off the connexion with him. From a careful perusal of his private Journal, this appears to me to have been the case. But I will fairly state the evidence on which my opinion is founded, in his own words as they occur, and leave the reader to judge for himself; not doubting at the same time, that, whatever may be said of his weakness (and who is not weak in some thing or other) or of his prudence in this affair, nothing can be laid to his charge in point of criminality.—*Dr. Whitehead*.

resolved to return to *England* immediately. I was at first a little surprised ; but I soon recollected my spirits, and remembered my calling. Greater is He that is in you, than he that is in the world.

“ Non me, qui cætera, vincet

Impetus ; at rapido contrarius evehar orbi.”

*The force shall not overcome me, that overcomes all things else ;  
But I shall mount in a direction contrary to the rapid world.*

“ I began with earnestly crying to God to maintain his own cause ; and then reading to a few who came to my house in the evenings, one of *Ephrem Syrus's* exhortations, as I did every night after, and by the blessing of God not without effect. My next step was, to divert Miss *Sophy* from the fatal resolution of going to *England*. After several fruitless attempts I at length prevailed : nor was it long before she recovered the ground she had lost.

“ October 23. Mr. *Oglethorpe* returned from the Southward. I was in the fort with Mr. *Horton* when he came. He ran to Mr. *Horton*, kissed him, and expressed much kindness to him, but took no notice of me good or bad ; any more than if I had not been in the room. I was not surprised, having long expected it : when I mentioned it to Miss *Sophy*, she said ; “ Sir, you encouraged me in my greatest trials : be not discouraged yourself. Fear nothing : if Mr. *Oglethorpe* will not, God will help you.”

October 25. I took boat for *Savannah*, with Miss *Sophy* ; and came thither, after a slow and dangerous, but not a tedious passage, on Sunday the 31st.\*

We insert the following story, because it seems well authenticated, and because it may be the means of putting young persons upon their guard against the arts, and persuasive words of designing and unprincipled

\* See also his printed Journal, in his Works, vol. xxvi. p. 150.



pled men. November 12, says Mr. *Wesley*, "By a careful inquiry of several persons, I came to the full knowledge of a strange piece of history. Mr. *T.* a Surgeon of *Edinburgh* debauched the daughter of one Mr. *Ure*, a lawyer, an only child, and distant Relation. He then persuaded her to sign a writing which she had never read, and go over with him to *America*. When she came hither, he treated her as a common servant; and not only so, but beat her frequently to such a degree that the scars made by the whip were plainly to be seen a year after. The fault commonly was, that the child she had by him cried. After he had kept her thus for about two years, and she had brought him another child, he married another woman, and sold her to one of the *Indian* Traders! The facts he allowed and defended before Mr. *Oglethorpe* (only he said, he had given, not sold her) who, after a full hearing, determined that she should be set at liberty to work for herself and the child." This was a poor recompence for such accumulated injuries. If Mr. *Oglethorpe* had the power, he certainly ought to have laid a fine upon the man, sufficient to have maintained the woman and the child.

Mr. *Wesley* proceeds. "Nov. 23. Mr. *Oglethorpe* sailed for *England*—In the beginning of December, I advised Miss *Sophy* to sup earlier, and not immediately before she went to bed. She did so; and on this little circumstance, what an inconceivable train of consequences depend! Not only, 'All the colour of remaining life,' for her; but perhaps my happiness too!"

Feb. 5, 1737. "One of the most remarkable dispensations of Providence towards me, which I have yet known, began to shew itself this day. For many days after I could not at all judge which way the scale would turn: nor was it fully determined till March 4th, on which God commanded me to pull out my right eye; and

and by his grace I determined so to do : but being slack in the execution, on Sat. March 12, God being very merciful to me, my friend performed what I could not.\*

“ I have oftēn thought, one of the most difficult commands that ever was given, was that given to *Ezekiel* concerning his wife. But the difficulty of obeying such a direction, appeared to me now more than ever before : when, considering the character I bore, I could not but perceive, that the word of the Lord was come to me likewise, saying, “ Son of man, behold I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke : yet neither shalt thou mourn, nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down.”

Feb. 24. It was agreed that Mr. *Ingham* should go for *England*, and endeavour, if it should please God to bring over some of their friends to strengthen their hands in his work. By him, Mr. *Wesley* wrote to Mr. *Oglethorpe* ; and this letter shews both his zeal and entire openness of heart, in pursuing and inculcating without fear, what he deemed most excellent. It is as follows : “ Sir, You apprehended strong opposition before you went hence ; and unless we are misinformed, you have found it. Yesterday morning, I read a letter from *London*, wherein it was asserted, that Sir *Robert* had turned against you ; that the Parliament was resolved to make a severe scrutiny into all that has been transacted here ; that the cry of the nation ran the same way ; and that even the Trustees were so far from acknowledging the service you have done, that they had protested your bills, and charged you with misapplying the monies you had received ; and with gross mismanagement of the power where-  
with

\* On March the 12th Miss *Sophy* married Mr. *Williamson*,

with you was intrusted—Whether these things are so, or no, I know not ; for it is ill depending on a single evidence. But this I know, that if your scheme was drawn (which I shall not easily believe) from that first-born of hell, *Nicholas Machiavel*,\* as sure as there is a God that governs the earth, he will confound both it and you. If on the contrary (as I shall hope, strong proof appear) your heart was right before God ; that it was your real design to promote the glory of God, by promoting peace and love among men ; let not your heart be troubled : the God whom you serve is able to deliver you. Perhaps in some things you have shewn you are but a man : perhaps I myself may have a little to complain of : but, O what a train of benefits have I received to lay in the balance against it ! I bless God that you was born. I acknowledge his exceeding mercy, in casting me into your hands. I own your generous kindness all the time we were at sea : I am indebted to you for a thousand favours here : why then, the least I can say is, though all men should revile

\* *Nicholas Machiavel*, was born of a distinguished family at *Florence*. Of all his writings, a political treatise entitled the *Prince*, has made the greatest noise in the world. Mr. *Wesley* speaks thus of it ; “ If all the other doctrines of devils which have been committed to writing since letters were in the world, were collected together in one volume, it would fall short of this : and that should a Prince form himself by this book, so calmly recommending hypocrisy, treachery, lying, robbery, oppression, adultery, whoredom, and murder of all kinds ; *Domitian* or *Nero* would be an angel of light compared with that man.”—The world is not agreed as to the motive of this work ; some thinking he meant to recommend tyrannical maxims ; others, that he only delineated them to excite abhorrence. *Harrington* considers *Machiavel*, as a superior genius, and as the most excellent writer on politics and government that ever appeared. Some have said, his greatest fault was, that he told the world what bad Princes did, not what they ought to do ; and that his principles, though daily condemned, are daily put in practice. It has also been said, that he took his political maxims from the government of the Popes. He died in 1530.

revile you, yet, if God shall strengthen me, will not I: Yea, were it not for the poor creatures, whom you have as yet but half redeemed from their complicated misery, I could almost wish that you were forsaken of all; that you might clearly see the difference, between men of honour, and those who are in the very lowest rank, the followers of Christ Jesus.

“ O! where is the God of Elijah? Stir up thy strength and come and help him! If the desire of his heart be to thy name, let all his enemies flee before him! Art thou not he who hast made him a father to the fatherless, a mighty Deliverer to the oppressed! Hast thou not given him to be, feet to the lame, hands to the helpless, eyes to the blind! Hath he ever withheld his bread from the hungry, or hid his soul from his own flesh! Then, whatever Thou with-holdest from him, O Thou lover of men, satisfy his soul with thy likeness: renew his heart in the whole image of thy Christ: purge his spirit from self-will, pride, vanity, and fill it with faith and love, gentleness and long-suffering. Let no guile ever be found in his mouth; no injustice in his hands!—And among all your labours of love, it becomes me earnestly to entreat him, that He will not forget those you have gone through for, sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN WESLEY.”

By Mr. *Ingham*, he also wrote to Dr. *Bray's* associates, who had sent a parochial library to *Savannah*.\*

It

\* Dr. *Thomas Bray*, was born at *Marton*, in *Shropshire*, in the year 1656, and educated at *Oxford*. He was at length presented to the vicarage of *Over-Whitacre*, in *Warwickshire*; and in 1760, to the rectory of *Sheldon*, where he composed his *Catechetical Lectures*, which procured him such reputation, that Dr. *Compton*, Bishop of *London*, pitched upon him as a proper person to model the infant church of *Maryland*; and for that purpose he was invested with the office of *Commissary*.

It was expected of the ministers who received these libraries, that they should send an account to their benefactors, of the method they used in catechising the children, and instructing the youth of their respective parishes. That part of his letter was as follows—  
 “ Our general method of catechising, is this ; a young gentleman who came with me, teaches between thirty and forty children, to read, write, and cast accounts. Before school in the morning, and after school in the afternoon, he catechises the lowest class, and endeavours to fix something of what was said in their understandings, as well as in their memories. In the evening he instructs the larger children. On Saturday in the afternoon I catechise them all. The same I do on Sunday before the evening-service : and in the church immediately after the second lesson, a select number of them having repeated the catechism, and been examined in some part of it, I endeavour to explain at large, and enforce that part, both on them and the congregation,

“ Some time after the evening-service, as many of my parishioners as desire it meet at my house (as they do

*missary.* He now engaged in several noble undertakings. He procured sums to be raised for purchasing small libraries, for the use of the poor ministers in the several parts of our plantations : and the better to promote this design, he published two books ; one, entitled *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, or a scheme of such theological and other heads, as seem requisite to be perused or occasionally consulted by the clergy, together with a catalogue of books which may be profitably read on each of those points ; the other, *Apostolical charity*, its nature and excellency considered. He endeavoured to get a fund established for the propagation of the Gospel, especially among the uncultivated *Indians* ; and by his means a patent was obtained for erecting the corporation called, *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. He, by his industry, procured relief for prisoners ; and formed the plan of the society for the reformation of manners, charity-schools, &c. He wrote 1. his *Martyrology*, or Papal usurpation, in one volume folio. 2. *Directorium Missionarium* ; and other works. He died in 1730.

do also on Wednesday evening) and spend about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation. A smaller number, mostly those who design to communicate the next day, meet here on Saturday evening: and a few of these come to me on the other evenings, and pass half an hour in the same employment."

March 4th. Mr. *Wesley* wrote to the Trustees for *Georgia*, giving them an account of his expences from March 1st, 1736, to March 1st, 1737, which deducting extraordinary expences for repairing the parsonage-house, journies to *Frederica*, &c. amounted for himself and Mr. *Delamotte*, to forty-four pounds, four shillings, and four-pence. At the same time he accepted of the fifty pounds a year, sent by the Society for his maintenance, which, however, was in a manner forced upon him, as he had formed a resolution not to accept of it, saying his Fellowship was sufficient for him. On this occasion his brother *Samuel* expostulated with him, and shewed him that by refusing it, he might injure those who should come after him: and if he did not want it for himself, he might give it away in such manner as he thought proper. He at length yielded to the solicitations of the Society, and the advice of his friends.

It appears to us, that the affair between Mr. *Wesley*, and Miss *Sophy Causton*, was this day finally broken off; and that he refers to this circumstance in the following paragraph in his printed Journal; "From the direction I received from God this day; touching an affair of the last importance, I cannot but observe, as I have done many times before, the entire mistake of many good men, who assert, 'That God will not answer your prayer unless your heart be wholly resigned to his will.' My heart was not wholly resigned to

to his will ; therefore I durst not depend on my own judgment : and for this very reason, I cried to him the more earnestly to supply what was wanting in me. And I know, and am assured, that he heard my voice, and did send forth his light and his truth."

He proceeds in his private Journal, in reference to the same affair. "March 7. When I walked with Mr. *Causton*, to his country-lot, I plainly felt, that had God given me such a retirement, with the companion I desired, I should have forgot the work for which I was born, and have set up my rest in this world. March 8. Miss *Sophy* engaged herself to Mr. *Williamson*—and on Saturday, the 12th, they were married at *Purrysburgh* : this being the day which completed the year from my first speaking to her. What thou doest, O God, I know not now ; but I shall know hereafter."

Whether the lady's patience was exhausted by Mr. *Wesley's* slow procedure in the business (as it does not appear that he was in any haste to finish it) or, whether she declined entering into the connubial state with him, on account of his abstemious and rigid manner of life, is uncertain : but whatever was the cause, it is evident from his own words, that he felt a disappointment when she married Mr. *Williamson*. It seems, that he expressed this more fully in a letter to his brother *Samuel*, who tells him, in his answer, " I am sorry you are disappointed in one match, because you are very unlikely to find another."—It was not long however, before he saw sufficient cause to be thankful, that Providence had not permitted him to choose for himself. He had frequent occasions of discovering, that Mrs. *Williamson* was not that strictly religious character which he had supposed. On one of these occasions, near three months after her marriage,

riage, he writes thus, " God has shewed me yet more, of the greatness of my deliverance, by opening to me a new and unexpected scene of *Miss Sophy's* dissimulation. O never give me over to my own heart's desires; nor let me follow my own imaginations!"

The things Mr. *Wesley* now passed through, gave him a more perfect knowledge of his own heart, and of human nature in general, than he had before acquired, which amply repaid him for the disappointment he had suffered. He still pursued his labours with unremitting diligence, and observed the greatest punctuality in answering the letters from his friends. March 29. He wrote to Mrs. *Chapman*, a religious acquaintance in *England*, with whom he held a correspondence. This letter will be a sufficient answer to an objection, often made against him at this time, that he thought cheerfulness inconsistent with religion — " True, friendship, (says he) is doubtless stronger than death, else your's could never have subsisted still, in spite of all opposition, and even after thousands of miles are interposed between us.

" In the last proof you gave of it, there are a few things which I think it lies on me to mention: as to the rest, my brother is the proper person to clear them up, as I suppose he has done long ago.

" You seem to apprehend, that I believe religion to be inconsistent with cheerfulness, and with a sociable friendly temper. So far from it, that I am convinced, as true religion or holiness, cannot be without cheerfulness, so steady cheerfulness, on the other hand, cannot be without holiness or true religion. And I am equally convinced, that religion has nothing sour, austere, unsociable, unfriendly in it. but, on the contrary, implies the most winning sweetness, the  
most



most amiable softness\* and gentleness. Are you for having as much cheerfulness as you can? So am I. Do you endeavour to keep alive your taste for all the truly innocent pleasures of life? So do I likewise. Do you refuse no pleasure, but what is a hindrance to some greater good, or has a tendency to some evil? It is my very rule: and I know no other by which a sincere reasonable Christian can be guided. In particular, I pursue this rule in eating, which I seldom do without much pleasure. And this I know is the will of God concerning me; that I should enjoy every pleasure, that leads to my taking pleasure in him; and in such a measure as most leads to it. I know that, as to every action which is naturally pleasing, it is his will that it should be so: therefore in taking that pleasure so far as it tends to this end (of taking pleasure in God) I do his will. Though therefore that pleasure be in some sense distinct from the love of God, yet is the taking of it by no means distinct from his will. No; you say yourself, 'It is his will I should take it.' And here indeed is the hinge of the question, which I had once occasion to state in a letter to you; and more largely in a sermon on the love of God. If you will read over those, I believe you will find, you differ from Mr. *Law* and me, in words only. You say, the pleasures you plead for are distinct from the love of God, as the cause from the effect. Why then they tend to it; and those which are only thus distinct from it, no one excepts against. The whole of what he affirms, and that not on the authority of men, but from the words and example of God incarnate, is, there is one thing  
needful,

\* Softness is an equivocal term: but Mr. *Wesley* does not here mean effeminacy, which the christian religion forbids, and which he always discouraged both by his words and actions.

needful, To do the will of God, and his will is our sanctification; our renewal in the image of God, in faith and love, in all holiness and happiness. On this we are to fix our single eye, at all times and in all places: for so did our Lord: this one thing we are to do; for so did our fellow servant Paul; after his example, *Whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we are to do all to the glory of God.* In other words, we are to do nothing but what, directly or indirectly leads to our holiness, which is his glory; and to do every such thing with this design, and in such a measure as may most promote it.

“ I am not mad, my dear friend, for asserting those to be the words of truth and soberness: neither are any of those, either in *England* or here, who have hitherto attempted to follow me. I am, and must be an example to my flock: not indeed in my prudential rules; but in some measure (if, giving God the glory, I may dare to say so) in my spirit, and life, and conversation. Yet all of them are, in your sense of the word, unlearned, and most of them of low understanding: and still not one of them has been as yet, entangled in any case of conscience which was not solved. And as to the nice distinctions you speak of, it is you, my friend, it is the wise, the learned, the disputers of this world, who are lost in them, and bewildered more and more, the more they strive to extricate themselves. We have no need of nice distinctions, for I exhort all—Dispute with none. I feed my brethren in Christ, as he giveth me power, with the pure unmixt milk of his word. And those who are as little children receive it, not as the word of man, but as the word of God. Some grow thereby, and advance apace in peace and holiness: they grieve, 'tis true, for those who did run well, but are now turned back; and they fear for themselves, lest they also be tempted: yet through the mercy of God

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they despair not, but have still a good hope that they shall endure to the end. Not that this hope has any resemblance to enthusiasm, which is a hope to attain the end without the means ; this they know is impossible, and therefore ground their hope on a constant, careful use of all the means. And if they keep in this way, with lowliness, patience, and meekness of resignation, they cannot carry the principle of pressing toward perfection too far. O may you, and I, carry it far enough ! Be fervent in spirit ! Rejoice evermore ! Pray without ceasing ! In every thing give thanks ! Do every thing in the name of the Lord Jesus ! Abound more and more in all holiness, and in zeal for every good word and work !”

Before Mr. *Wesley* left *Frederica*, in January, where his brother had suffered so much, the opposition of some ill-minded and desperate persons rose to a degree of violence hardly credible ; so that his life was in danger several times. Every species of defamation, likely to prejudice the people against him, was propagated with diligence. The worst constructions, which malignity itself could invent, were put upon his actions, and reported as facts : it even seems that the giving away his own private income in acts of charity, was construed into embezzlement of the Society’s money. Mr. *Wesley* did not doubt, but men capable of such baseness, would represent the matter in this light to the Trustees. He therefore wrote to them on the subject, and received the following answer from Dr. *Burton* ; which, as it shews the confidence the Trustees had in his uprightness and integrity, and their approbation of his conduct, we shall insert.

“ DEAR SIR, *Georgia* Office, June 15th.

“ I communicated your letter to the board this morning. We are surprised at your apprehensions of  
being

being charged with the very imputation of having embezzled any public or private monies. I cannot learn any ground for even suspicion of any thing of this kind. We never heard of any accusation; but on the contrary, are persuaded both of your frugality and honesty. We beg you not to give weight to reports or private insinuations. The Trustees have a high esteem of your good services, and on all occasions will give further encouragement; and would not have the express mention of the fifty pounds, in lieu of the same sum formerly advanced by the Society for propagation so understood, as not to admit of enlargement upon proper occasions. I am ordered by all the members present to acquaint you of this, and to give you assurance of their approbation of your conduct, and readiness to assist you. The V. Prov. of *Eton* has given you ten pounds, for your private use and doing works of charity: I have desired Mr. *Oglethorpe*, to convey this to you in a private way. Mr. *Whitefield*, will shortly, and by the next convenient opportunity go over to *Georgia*. There are three hundred acres granted to the church in *Frederica*. Be not discouraged by any hasty insinuations; but hope the best while any labour for the best. In good time matters will bear a better face. God strengthen your hands, and give efficacy to your honest endeavours. In a former letter I spoke my mind at large to you concerning many particulars. I am in much haste at present,

“Your affectionate friend,

“J. BURTON.”

“P. S. My lord *Egmont* gives his respects and kind wishes, and begs you not to be discouraged.”

Mr. *Causton*, the chief Magistrate of *Savannah*, seems to have been of a warm and rather violent temper, impatient of contradiction, over-bearing, and

fickle in his attachments. He had hitherto, not only shewn a decent civility towards Mr. *Wesley*, but even a friendly regard for him. This regard seemed increased during a fever he had in the end of June, in which Mr. *Wesley* attended him every day.—On the third of July, Mr. *Wesley* reproofed Mrs. *Williamson* for some things he thought wrong in her conduct. The reproof was resented by the Lady, who said, “She did not expect such usage from him.” This was the beginning of strife, which as the wise man tells us, “Is as when one letteth out water.” The next day, Mrs. *Causton* called, and apologizing for the behaviour of her niece, desired Mr. *Wesley* to inform Mrs. *Williamson* in writing what he had to object against her conduct. He accordingly wrote to her on the 5th, and here the matter rested for a few weeks. In the mean time, however, Mrs. *Williamson* miscarried, and Mrs. *Causton* reported that the miscarriage was occasioned by Mr. *Wesley*’s reproof, and the letter he had sent: but Mrs. *Williamson*, frankly acknowledged that, her husband having been sick, it was occasioned by the hurry and anxiety his sickness had produced. During this time Mr. *Causton* shewed the same friendly attention to Mr. *Wesley* as if nothing had happened. On this occasion Mr. *Wesley* writes in his private journal: “July 23. The strange esteem which Mr. *Causton* seemed to shew for us, by which means we had nothing without but ease and plenty, occasioned my expressing myself thus in a letter to a friend; “How to attain the being crucified with Christ, I find not; being in a condition which I neither desired nor expected in *America*: in ease and honour, and abundance. A strange school for him who has but one business, *ἑαυτὸν ὁλοκρῆσαι ὑποτασσάμενος*.”\*

In

\* To exercise himself unto godliness.

In the beginning of August, he joined with the *Germanians* in one of their Love-feasts. This, it is probable, was the first time he ever saw a Love-feast. He speaks thus of it: "It was begun and ended with thanksgiving and prayer, and celebrated in so decent and solemn a manner, as a Christian of the Apostolic age, would have allowed to be worthy of Christ." He afterwards adopted Love-feasts, into the economy of Methodism.

August 7. Mr. *Wesley* repelled Mrs. *Williamson* from the holy communion, for the reasons specified in his letter of the 3th of July, as well as for not giving him notice of her design to communicate, after having discontinued it for some time. On the 9th, a warrant having been issued and served upon him, he was carried before the Recorder and Magistrates. Mr. *Williamson's* charge was, 1. That Mr. *Wesley* had defamed his wife: 2. That he had causelessly repelled her from the holy communion. The first charge Mr. *Wesley* denied; and the second, being purely ecclesiastical, he would not acknowledge the magistrates' power to interrogate him concerning it. He was told, that he must however, appear in the next Court holden for *Savannah*. In the mean time Mr. *Causton*, having become Mr. *Wesley's* bitter enemy, required him to assign his reasons in writing for repelling his niece. This he accordingly did, in the following letter to Mrs. *Williamson*. "At Mr. *Causton's* request I write once more. The rules whereby I proceed are these: *So many as intend to partake of the holy communion, shall signify their names to the Curate, at least some time the day before.* This you did not do.

"*And if any of these—have done any wrong to his neighbour, by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the Curate shall advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's table,*  
until

*until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.*

“If you offer yourself at the Lord’s table on *Sunday*, I will advertise you, as I have done more than once, wherein you *have done wrong*: and when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the mysteries of God.”

On the 12th of August, and the following days, Mr. *Causton* read to as many as he conveniently could, all the letters Mr. *Wesley* had written to himself, or Miss *Sophy*, from the beginning of their acquaintance: not indeed throughout but selecting certain passages, which might, being detached from the rest, and aided by a comment which he supplied, make an impression to Mr. *Wesley*’s disadvantage. Such methods as these, of oppressing an individual, are detestable; and yet they have too often been practised, even by persons professing religion; but they always afford sure evidence of a bad cause.

While Mr. *Causton* was thus employed, the rest of the family were assiduous in their endeavours to convince all to whom they spake, that Mr. *Wesley* had repelled Mrs. *Williamson* from the Communion out of revenge, because she had refused to marry him. “I sat still at home, (says Mr. *Wesley*,) and I thank God easy, having committed my cause to him: and remembering his word, “Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.” I was at first afraid, that those who were weak in faith would be turned out of the way, at least so far as to neglect the public worship, by attending which they were likely to suffer in their temporal concerns. But I feared where no fear was: God took care of this likewise; insomuch that on Sunday the 14th, more  
were

were present at the morning prayers, than had been for some months before. Many of them observed those words in the first lesson, "Set Naboth on high among the people: and set two men, sons of Belial before him, to bear witness against him." No less remarkable were those in the evening lesson, "I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil." O may I ever be able to say with *Micaiah*, "*What the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak:*" and that, though I too should be put into prison, and fed there, "with bread of affliction, and with water of affliction."

August 16. At the request of several of the communicants, he drew up a short relation of the case, and read it after the evening prayers in the open congregation. And this evening, as Mr. *Wesley* supposed, Mrs. *Williamson* was prevailed upon to swear to, and sign a paper, containing many assertions and insinuations injurious to his character—During the whole of this week, Mr. *Causton* was employed in preparing those who were to form the grand Jury at the next Court-day. He was talking with some or other of them, day and night: his table was free to all: old misunderstandings were forgot, and nothing was too much to be done for them, or promised to them. Monday, the twenty-second, the Court was formed, and forty-four jurors were sworn in, instead of fifteen, to be a grand Jury to find the bills. This was done by Mr. *Causton*, who hereby shewed his skill in the management of a controversy like this. He knew well, that numbers would add weight to every thing they transacted, and induce them to take bolder steps, than a few would venture upon. To this grand Jury, he gave a long and earnest charge, "to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new illegal authority, which was usurped over their consciences." Mrs. *Williamson's* affidavit was read; and he then delivered



to them a paper, entitled, "A List of grievances presented by the grand Jury for *Savannah*, this — day of August, 1737." In the afternoon Mrs. *Williamson* was examined, who acknowledged that she had no objections to make against Mr. *Wesley*'s conduct before her marriage. The next day Mr. and Mrs. *Causton* were also examined, when she confessed, that it was by her request Mr. *Wesley* had written to Mrs. *Williamson* on the 5th of July: and Mr. *Causton* declared, that if Mr. *Wesley* had asked his consent to have married his niece he should not have refused it.—The grand Jury continued to examine these ecclesiastical grievances, which occasioned warm debates, till Thursday; when Mr. *Causton* being informed they were entered on matters beyond his instructions, went to them, and behaved in such a manner, that he turned forty-two, out of the forty-four, into a fixed resolution to inquire into his whole behaviour. They immediately entered on that business, and continued examining witnesses all day on Friday. On Saturday, Mr. *Causton* finding all his efforts to stop them ineffectual, he adjourned the Court till Thursday, the first of September, and spared no pains, in the mean time, to bring them to another mind. September 1, he so far prevailed, that the majority of the grand Jury returned the list of grievances to the Court, in some particulars altered, under the form of two presentments, containing ten bills, only two of which related to the affair of Mrs. *Williamson*; and only one of these was cognizable by that Court, the rest being merely ecclesiastical. September 2, Mr. *Wesley* addressed the Court to this effect; "As to nine of the ten Indictments against me, I know this Court can take no cognizance of them; they being matters of an ecclesiastical nature, and this not an ecclesiastical Court. But the tenth, concerning my speaking and writing to  
Mrs.

*Mrs. Williamson*, is of a secular nature: and this therefore I desire may be tried here, where the facts complained of were committed." Little answer was made, and that purely evasive.

In the afternoon he moved the Court again, for an immediate trial at *Savannah*; adding, "That those who are offended may clearly see whether I have done any wrong to any one; or whether I have not rather deserved the thanks of *Mrs. Williamson*, *Mr. Causton*, and of the whole family." *Mr. Causton's* answer was full of civility and respect. He observed, "Perhaps things would not have been carried so far, had you not said, you believed if *Mr. Causton* appeared, the people would tear him in pieces; not so much out of love to you, as out of hatred to him for his abominable practices." If *Mr. Wesley* really spake these words, he was rather imprudent, considering the circumstances in which he was placed. But we too often find in disputes, that the constructions of others on what has been said, are reported as the very words we have spoken; which we suspect to have been the case here. *Mr. Causton*, however, has sufficiently discovered the motives that influenced his conduct in this business.

Twelve of the grand Jurors now drew up a protest against the proceedings of the majority, to be immediately sent to the Trustees in *England*. In this paper they gave such clear and satisfactory reasons, under every bill, for their dissent from the majority, as effectually did away all just ground of complaint against *Mr. Wesley*, on the subjects of the prosecution.—As *Mr.* and *Mrs. Williamson* intended to go for *England* in the first ship that should sail; some of *Mr. Wesley's* friends thought, he ought to go likewise; chiefly to prevent or remove the bad impressions

pressions which misrepresentation and ill-natured report, might make on the Trustees, and others interested in the welfare of the Colony. But September 10, he observes, "I laid aside the thoughts of going to *England*; thinking it more suitable to my calling, still to commit my cause to God, and not to be in haste to justify myself: only, to be always ready to give to any that should ask me, a reason of the hope that is in me."

Immoderate zeal is always to be suspected; especially when it appears in pursuing such measures as tend to injure or ruin an individual. A bad cause, which originated from hatred or malice, will almost always be carried on with more intemperate zeal, and bolder measures, than a consciousness of acting right will ever produce. The pursuit of any end in view, when governed by the passions, is always more violent than when directed by reason and truth. On this principle we may account for the proceedings of the Magistrates of *Savannah*. They sent the affidavit they had procured, and the two presentments of the grand Jury, to be inserted in the news-papers in different parts of *America*. The only purpose this could answer was, to injure Mr. *Wesley* in the opinion of a large body of people, who could not easily come at a true knowledge of the case. That these advertisements might make a deeper impression on the minds of the multitude, the pomp of legal form was preserved; the following words being added at the end of each bill, "CONTRARY TO THE PEACE OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING, HIS CROWN AND DIGNITY." Persons of discernment saw through the artifice, and in the end of September Mr. *Wesley* received a letter from a gentleman of considerable abilities and learning in *Charlestown*, in which are the

the following observations. “ I am much concerned at some reports and papers concerning you from *Georgia*. The papers contain some affidavits made against you, by one *Mrs. Williamson*; and a parcel of stuff called presentments of you by the grand Jury, for matters chiefly of your mere office as a clergyman. Has our Sovereign Lord the King, given the temporal Courts in *Georgia*, ecclesiastical jurisdiction? If he has not, then sure I am, that, whatever your failings in your office may be, a grand Jury’s presentments of them, being repugnant to the fundamental Laws and Constitution of *England*, is a plain “ Breach of his peace,” and an open insult on, “ His Crown and Dignity ;” for which they themselves ought to be presented, if they have not incurred a *premunire*.\* The presentments, a sad pack of nonsense, I have seen ; but not the affidavits. They were both designed to have been published in our *Gazette*, but our friends here have hitherto prevented it.—I shall be glad to have some light from yourself into these matters, and wherewith to oppose the reports industriously spread here to your disadvantage ; mean time, I remain your most obedient humble servant,

“ S. GARDEN.”

Mr. *Wesley* received some consolatory letters from those of his friends, to whom he had represented his situation. A letter of this kind, from Dr. *Cutler*, a clergyman at *Boston*, contains some thoughts so just, and not very commonly to be met with, that it is deemed worthy of a place here. It is dated the  
twenty-

\* To incur a *premunire*, is to be liable to imprisonment and loss of goods.

twenty-second of October. " I am sorry, Sir, (says he) for the clouds hanging over your mind, respecting your undertaking and situation; but hope God will give an happy increase to that good seed you have planted and watered, according to his will. The best of men in all ages, have failed in the success of their labour; and there will ever be found too many enemies to the cross of Christ: for earth will not be heaven. This reminds us of that happy place, where we shall not see and be grieved for transgressors; and where, for our well meant labours, our judgment is with the Lord, and our reward with our God. And you well know, Sir, that under the saddest appearances, we may have some share in the consolations which God gave *Elijah*; and may trust in him, that there is some wickedness we repress or prevent; some goodness by our means, weak and unworthy as we are, beginning and increasing in the hearts of men, at present; perhaps like a grain of mustard-seed, that in God's time may put forth, and spread, and flourish: and that, if the world seems not the better for us, it might be worse without us. Our low opinion of ourselves is a preparative to these successes; and so the modest and great Apostle found it.

" No doubt, Sir, you have temptations where you are, nor is there any retreat from them; they hint to us the care we must take, and the promises we must apply to: and blessed is the man that endureth temptation.

" I rejoice in the good character you give, which I believe you well bestow, of Mr. *Whitefield*, who is coming to you—but I question not, but his labours will be better joined with, than supersede yours: and even his, and all our sufficiency and efficiency is of God,

" R

“ It is the least we can do to pray for one another ; and if God will hear me, a great sinner, it will strengthen your interest in him. I recommend myself to a share in your prayers, for his pardon, acceptance, and assistance ; and beg that my family—may not be forgotten by you.”

Mr. *Wesley*, in the midst of this storm kept up by the arts of his avowed enemies, without a shilling in his pocket, and three thousand miles from home, possessed his soul in peace, and pursued his labours with the same unremitting diligence, as if he had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity and ease. October 30. He gives us an account of his labours *on the Lord's-day*. “ The *English* service lasted from five till half an hour past six. The *Italian* (with a few *Vaudois*) began at nine. The second service for the *English*, including the sermon and the holy Communion, continued from half an hour past ten, till about half an hour past twelve. The *French* service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three began the *English* service. After this was ended, I joined with as many as my large room would hold, in reading, prayer, and singing. And about six the service of the *Germans* began ; at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but as a learner.”

November 1. He received a temporary relief from his pressing wants. “ Col. *Stephens*, (says he) arrived, by whom I received a benefaction of ten pounds sterling,\* after having been for several months without one shilling in the house, but not without peace, health, and contentment.”

November

\* It is supposed the ten pounds mentioned in Dr. *Burton's* letter, the 15th of June.

November 3. He attended the Court holden on that day: and again at the Court held on the twenty-third; urging an immediate hearing of his case, that he might have an opportunity of answering the allegations alleged against him. But this the Magistrates refused, and at the same time countenanced every report to his disadvantage: whether it was a mere invention, or founded on a malicious construction of any thing he did or said. Mr. *Wesley* perceiving that he had not the most distant prospect of obtaining justice, that he was in a place where those in power were combined together to oppress him, and could any day procure evidence (as experience had shewn) of words he had never spoken, and of actions he had never done; being disappointed too, in the primary object of his mission, *preaching to the Indians*; he consulted his friends what he ought to do; who were of opinion with him, that, by these circumstances Providence did now call him to leave *Savannah*. The next day he called on Mr. *Causton*, and told him he designed to set out for *England* immediately. November 24, he put up the following advertisement in the great square, and quietly prepared for his journey.

“Whereas *John Wesley* designs shortly to set out  
 “for *England*, This is to desire those who have  
 “borrowed any books of him, to return them as  
 “soon as they conveniently can, to

“JOHN WESLEY.”

November 30. He went once more to Mr. *Causton*, to desire money to defray his expences to *England*, intending to set out on Friday the second of December. It appears that this was an event which the Magistrates most ardently wished to take place,  
 and

and to which all their proceedings had been solely directed. It is no objection to this opinion, - that they published an order to prohibit him from leaving the province. It is manifest, that they had no intention of bringing the matter to a fair hearing before them, and of giving it a legal decision. They knew well that the evidence was so strong in Mr. *Wesley's* favour, that they could not even invent a plausible pretence for giving the cause against him. But to give it in his favour would have been cause of rejoicing to him and his friends, and would have covered his enemies with shame; and they had no way of preventing this, but by delaying the trial as long as possible. On the other hand, they easily foresaw, that if, by cutting off all prospect of terminating the affair, and multiplying false and injurious reports concerning him, every day, they could weary out his patience, and induce him to quit the province of his own accord, the triumph would be left to his enemies; and he leaving the province pending a prosecution against him, and in opposition to a prohibition of the Magistrates, would bring a censure upon him, and make his conduct and character suspected among all those who did not know the circumstances of the case. Finding him now determined to go for *England*, they had a fine opportunity of giving their plan its full effect. Mr. *Wesley* intended to set out about noon, the tide then serving: but about ten o'clock the Magistrates sent for him, and told him he should not go out of the province, till he had entered into recognizance to appear at the Court, and answer the allegations laid against him. Mr. *Wesley* replied, that he had appeared at six Courts successively, and had openly desired a trial, but was refused it. They said that he must however give security, to appear again. He asked, what security?

After



After a long consultation together, they agreed upon a kind of bond, that he should appear at *Savannah*, when required, under a penalty of fifty pounds. But the Recorder added, you must likewise give bail to answer Mr. *Williamson's* action of one thousand pounds damages. "I then began (says Mr. *Wesley*) to see into their design, of spinning out time and doing nothing; and so told him plainly, Sir, *I will sign neither one bond nor the other: you know your business and I know mine.*

The Magistrates finding him quite resolved to go for *England*, saw their plan was secure, and that they might carry on the farce, to keep up appearances in their own favour, without danger of disappointment. In the afternoon therefore, they published an order, requiring all officers to prevent his going out of the province; and forbidding any person to assist him so to do. The day was now far spent: after evening prayers, therefore, the tide again serving, Mr. *Wesley* left *Savannah*, in company with three other persons, no one attempting to hinder him. Indeed there is little doubt, but the Magistrates were heartily glad to get rid of a man, whose whole manner of life was a constant reproof of their licentiousness, and whose words were as arrows sticking fast in them.

If we candidly review all the circumstances of this affair, some shall perhaps be led to conclude, that Mr. *Wesley* might have acted with more caution, and more regard to his own ease and character than he did, when he first saw the storm gathering and likely to burst with violence upon him. But his constant rule was, to ascertain to the satisfaction of his own mind, that particular line of conduct which duty required him to pursue as a Christian and a minister of the gospel, and then steadily to walk in it regardless of consequences,

consequences. And there is every evidence which the case will admit, that he acted in this conscientious manner towards Mr. *Williamson*. It does not appear that any one ever charged him with repelling her from the Holy Communion out of revenge because she would not marry him, except her relations, who now thought it necessary to injure his reputation as much as possible, to cover themselves from reproach. This charge not only wants positive proof, but is even destitute of probability. It was about five months after her marriage when this circumstance happened, during the former part of which time he had frequently administered the Sacrament to her, without shewing any symptoms of revenge: and about three months after her marriage, he saw such things in her conduct, as, in his private journal *which was never printed*, induced him to bless God for his deliverance in not marrying her. Now let us ask any candid man, if it is probable, that Mr. *Wesley* could be actuated by a spirit of revenge for a disappointment at the end of five months, which had no influence on his conduct at the end of three months; and even after he had been convinced that the disappointment itself was a mercy, for which he secretly thanked God? In his pastoral character, Mr. *Wesley* acted by one rule towards all the communicants. If any one had discontinued his attendance at the Lord's table, he required him to signify his name some time the day before he intended to communicate again: and if any one had done wrong to his neighbour, so that the congregation was thereby offended, he required him openly to declare that he had repented. This rule the order of the church of *England* required him to observe, and he acted by it invariably in all cases,

whether the persons were rich or poor, friends or enemies. Mrs. *Williamson* did not conform to this established order, which must have been well known to all the communicants in so small a place. Mr. *Wesley* was therefore reduced to this alternative, either to break an order he held sacred, in her favour, and thereby incur the censure of a blamable partiality for her, after being married to another; or to repel her from the Holy Communion, and incur the censure of having done it out of revenge, because she would not marry him. Censure was inevitable, which ever way he had acted; and having well considered the matter, he determined to follow the rule he had always observed, and to leave the consequences to God.

Mr. *Wesley* enjoyed a wonderful state of health while in *America*. His constitution seemed to improve under the hardships he endured, which appeared sufficient to have weakened or destroyed the strongest man. Three hundred acres having been set apart at *Savannah*, for glebe land, he took from it what he thought sufficient for a good garden, and here he frequently worked with his hands. He continued his custom of eating little, of sleeping less, and of leaving not a moment of his time unemployed. He exposed himself with the utmost indifference to every change of season, and to all kinds of weather. Snow and hail, storm and tempest, had no effect on his iron body. He frequently slept on the ground in the summer, under the heavy dews of the night; and in the winter with his hair and clothes frozen to the earth in the morning. He would wade through swamps, and swim over rivers in his clothes, and then travel on till they were dry, without any apparent injury to his health. On one of these occasions he concludes,

concludes, that any person might undergo the same hardship without injury, if his constitution was not impaired by the softness of a genteel education. In all Mr. *Wesley's* writings (observes Dr. *Whitehead*) I do not know such a flagrant instance of false reasoning as this: contrary to all the rules of logic, he draws a general conclusion from particular premises;—but who is at all times in full possession of the powers of his own mind?

Mr. *Wesley*, and his three companions suffered great hardships in travelling from *Purrysburg*, to *Port-Royal*. Not being able to procure a guide, they set out an hour before sun-rise, without one. The consequence was, they lost their way; wandered in the woods till evening, without any food but part of a gingerbread cake divided among them, and without a drop of water. At night two of the company dug with their hands about three feet deep, and found water, with which they were refreshed. They lay down together on the ground (in December) “And I, at least, says Mr. *Wesley*, slept till near six in the morning.” They rose, took the rest of the ginger-bread cake, and wandered on till between one and two o’clock, before they came to any house, or obtained any further refreshment. December 6, after many difficulties and delays they came to *Port-Royal*, and the next day walked to *Beaufort*, on the opposite side of the Island. Here Mr. *Jones*, the minister of the place, invited Mr. *Wesley* to his house, and gave him, as he acknowledges, a lively idea of the old *English* hospitality. Mr. *Wesley* adds in his private journal, “Yet observing the elegance, and more than neatness of every thing about him, I could not but sigh to myself, and say, “*Heu delicatum discipulum Duri Magistri.*” Perhaps this remark was uncharitable and unjust; and, to adopt the language Mr. *Wesley* sometimes used, he was severely reprov-

for it shortly after. On the 9th, Mr. *Delamotte* having come to him, they took boat for *Charles-town*: but the wind being contrary, and provisions falling short, they were obliged on the 11th, to land at a plantation to get some refreshment. The people were unwilling to let them have any: at length, however, they gave them some bad potatoes, "Of which, says Mr. *Wesley*, they plainly told us we robbed the swine."—The wind continued contrary, and they in want of every thing, till about noon, on the 12th, having reached *John's Island*, they desired a Mr. G. to let them have a little meat or drink of any sort, either with or without price. With much difficulty, he tells us, they obtained some potatoes, and liberty to roast them, in a fire his Negroes had made at a distance from the house.

Mr. *Wesley* proceeds. "Early on Tuesday, December 13, we came to *Charlestown*, where I expected trials of a quite different nature, and more dangerous; contempt and hunger being easy to be borne; but who can bear respect and fulness of bread!"—On the 16th, he parted from his faithful friend Mr. *Delamotte*, from whom he had been but a few days separate since their departure from *England*. On the 22d he took his leave of *America*, after having preached the gospel, as he observes, in *Savannah*, not as he ought, but as he was able, for one year and near nine months.

In the beginning of the following May, Mr. *Whitefield* arrived at *Savannah*, where he found some serious persons, the fruits of Mr. *Wesley's* ministry, glad to receive him. He had now an opportunity of inquiring upon the spot, into the circumstances of the late disputes, and bears testimony to the ill usage Mr. *Wesley* had received; but adds, he thought it most prudent not to repeat grievances.\* When he was at *Charles-town*

\* *Roberts's Narrative of the Life of Mr. George Whitefield*, page 56.

town, Mr. Garden acquainted him with the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with, and assured him, that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with life and fortune.\* These testimonies, of persons so respectable, and capable of knowing all the circumstances of the affair, coincide with the general tendency of the statement above given; and with candid persons must do away all suspicions, with regard to the integrity of Mr. Wesley's conduct.

During his voyage to *England*, Mr. Wesley entered into a close and severe examination of himself, and recorded the result with the greatest openness. January 8, 1738, in the fulness of his heart he writes thus: "By the most infallible of proofs, inward feeling I am convinced, 1. Of unbelief; having no such faith in Christ, as will prevent my heart from being troubled. —2. Of pride, throughout my life past; inasmuch as I thought I had what I find I have not. 3. Of gross irrecollection; inasmuch as, in a storm I cry to God every moment; in a calm not. 4. Of levity and luxuriancy of spirit—appearing by my speaking words not tending to edify; but most, by my manner of speaking of my enemies—Lord save, or I perish! Save me, 1. By such a faith as implies peace in life and death. 2. By such humility, as may fill my heart from this hour for ever, with a piercing uninterrupted sense, *Nihil est quod hactenus faci*, that *hitherto I have done nothing*. 3. By such a recollection as may enable me to cry to thee every moment. 4. By steadiness, seriousness, *σωφροσύνη*, sobriety of spirit, avoiding as fire, every word that tendeth not to edifying, and never speaking of any who oppose me, or sin against God, without all my own sins set in array before my face."

January

\*Ibid. page 58.

January 13. They had a thorough storm.—On the 24th, being about 160 leagues from the Land's-end, he observes, *his mind was full of thought, and he wrote as follows*: “I went to *America* to convert the *Indians*; but oh! who shall convert me! Who is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief; I have a fair summer religion; I can talk well, nay, and believe myself while no danger is near: but let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, *To die is gain!*”

“ I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun

“ My last thread, I shall perish on the shore !”

“ I think verily if the gospel be true, I am safe—I now believe the gospel is true. *I shew my faith by my works*, by staking my all upon it. I would do so again and again a thousand times, if the choice were still to make. Whoever sees me, sees I would be a Christian. Therefore *are my ways not like other men's ways*. Therefore I have been, I am, I am content to be, *a by-word a proverb of reproach*. But in a storm I think, what if the gospel be not true; then thou art of all men the most foolish—O who will deliver me from this fear of death! What shall I do? Where shall I fly from it? &c.” These reflections on his own state, evince the deepest consciousness that he had not attained the privileges of a true believer in Christ; though he diligently sought them in the practice of every moral and religious duty according to the best of his knowledge. This would naturally suggest some defect in the principle on which he performed these duties. The next day, therefore, Jan. 25, he took a review of his religious principles on a few important points; and in a private paper wrote as follows .

1. “ For

1. "For many years I have been tossed about by various winds of doctrine. I asked long ago, 'What must I do to be saved?' The Scripture answered, keep the commandments, believe, hope, love; follow after these tempers till thou hast fully attained, that is till death; by all those outward works and means which God hath appointed, by walking as *Christ* walked.

2 "I was early warned against laying, as the *Papists* do, too much stress on outward works, or on a faith without works; which, as it does not include, so it will never lead to true hope or charity. Nor am I sensible, that to this hour I have laid too much stress on either; having from the very beginning valued both faith, and the means of grace, and good works, not on their own account, but, as believing God who had appointed them, would by them bring me in due time, to the mind that was in Christ.

3. "But, before God's time was come, I fell among some *Lutheran* and *Calvinist* authors, whose confused and indigested accounts, magnified faith to such an amazing size, that it quite hid all the rest of the commandments. I did not then see, that this was the natural effect of their overgrown fear of Popery: being so terrified with the cry of merit and good works, that they plunged at once into the other extreme. In this labyrinth I was utterly lost: not being able to find out what the error was; nor yet to reconcile this uncouth hypothesis, either with Scripture or common sense.

4. "The *English* writers, such as Bishop *Beveridge*, Bishop *Taylor*, and Mr. *Nelson*, a little relieved me from these well-meaning, wrong-headed *Germans*. Their accounts of Christianity, I could easily see to be, in the main, consistent both with reason and Scripture. Only when they interpreted Scripture in different



different ways, I was often much at a loss. And again, there was one thing much insisted on in Scripture, The unity of the church, which none of them, I thought, clearly explained, or strongly inculcated.

5. " But it was not long before Providence brought me to those, who shewed me a sure rule of interpreting Scripture ; viz. '*Consensus Veterum: Quod ab omnibus, quod ubique, quod semper creditum.*' At the same time they sufficiently insisted upon a due regard to the one church, at all times, and in all places. Nor was it long before I bent the bow too far the other way: 1. By making Antiquity a co-ordinate, rather than sub-ordinate, rule with Scripture. 2. By admitting several doubtful writings, as undoubted evidences of Antiquity. 3. By extending Antiquity too far, even to the middle or end of the fourth century. 4. By believing more practices to have been universal in the ancient church, than ever were so. 5. By not considering that the Decrees of one Provincial Synod, could bind only that province; and that the Decrees of a general Synod, only those provinces whose representatives met therein. 6. By not considering, that the most of those Decrees were adapted to particular times and occasions; and consequently when those occasions ceased, must cease to bind even those Provinces.

6. " These considerations insensibly stole upon me, as I grew acquainted with the mystic writers: whose noble descriptions of union with God, and internal religion, made every thing else appear mean, flat, and insipid. But in truth they made good works appear so too; yea, and faith itself, and what not? These gave me an entire new view of religion; nothing like any I had before. But alas! it was nothing like that religion which Christ and his apostles lived

and taught. I had a plenary dispensation from all the commands of God: the form ran thus, 'Love is all; all the commands beside, are only means of love: you must choose those which you feel are means to you, and use them as long as they are so.' Thus were all the bands burst at once. And though I could never fully come into this, nor contentedly omit what God enjoined; yet, I know not how, I fluctuated between obedience and disobedience. I had no heart, no vigour, no zeal in obeying; continually doubting whether I was right or wrong, and never out of perplexities and entanglements. Nor can I at this hour give a distinct account, how, or when, I came a little back toward the right way: only my present sense is this—all the other enemies of Christianity are triflers: the mystics are the most dangerous of its enemies. They stab it in the vitals; and its most serious professors are most likely to fall by them. May I praise Him who hath snatched me out of this fire likewise, by warning all others, that it is set on fire of hell."

The censure Mr. *Wesley* has here passed on the *Lutheran*, the *Calvinist*, and *Mystic* writers, is too severe. We apprehend, Mr. *Wesley* did not at this time, understand either the *Lutheran*, or *Calvinist* writers on the article of faith. He acknowledges after his return to *England*, that he did not at first understand the *Moravian* doctrine of faith, which differed but little from that held in the *Lutheran* church.—What the moderate *Mystics* have said on the union of the soul with God, is in general excellent, and better said by them, than by most other writers. It must indeed be owned, that they do not sufficiently insist on the atonement and mediation of *Christ*, as the only foundation of a sinner's union with God: nor do they  
always

always explain and enforce the scriptural method of attaining it.

January 29. They once more saw *English* land: and February 1, Mr. *Wesley* landed at *Deal*; where he was informed Mr. *Whitefield* had sailed the day before, for *Georgia*. He read prayers, and explained a portion of Scripture to a large company at the Inn; and on the third arrived safe in *London*.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

*Giving some account of Mr. Wesley, from February 1738, till April 1739, when he became an Itinerant and Field-Preacher.*

ON his arrival in *England*, he made some reflections on his own state of mind, and on the effects of his visit to *America*. "It is now, says he, two years and almost four months, since I left my native country, in order to teach the *Georgian Indians*, the nature of Christianity: but what have I learned myself in the mean time? Why, what I the least of all suspected, that I, who went to *America* to convert others, was never myself converted to God. *I am not mad*, though I thus speak; but I speak the words of truth and soberness: if haply some of those who still *dream*, may *awake* and see, that as I am, so are they," &c. —He observes however, "Many reasons I have to bless God—for my having been carried into that strange land, contrary to all my preceding resolutions.

Hereby

Hereby I trust he hath in some measure, *humbled me, and proved me, and shewn me what was in my heart.* Hereby I have been taught to *beware of men.*—Hereby God has given me to know many of his servants particularly those of the church of *Hernhuth*. Hereby my passage is open to the writings of holy men, in the *German, Spanish, and Italian* tongues. All in *Georgia* have heard the word of God: some have believed and began to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad-tidings both to the *African* and *American* heathens. Many children have learned *how they ought to serve God*, and to be useful to their neighbour. And those whom it most concerns, have an opportunity of knowing the state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations.”

Mr. *Wesley* here supposes, that he was not converted to God, because he had not that faith which delivered him from the fear of death, and gave him victory over all sin, inward or outward. He does not seem to have any immediate reference to that notion of faith which he afterwards espoused and taught; for as yet he did not understand it. When the first journal, in which this is said, was printed in his works, in 1774, he doubted whether the severe sentence he here pronounced upon himself, was just. This ought not to be charged on Mr. *Wesley*, as a contradiction, but as a change in his opinion. This is certainly commendable, when an increase of knowledge gives a man sufficient reason for so doing. In 1774, he believed, that when he went to *America*, he had the faith of a seryant, though not of a son.\*

Though

\* See the Errata to the 26th volume of his Works.

Though he was far from being singular in making this distinction, yet the propriety of it has been doubted, or rather denied. It is of some importance in christian experience that the subject should be understood, and therefore it deserves to be examined.

The distinction is founded on what the Apostle has said, Rom. viii. 15, and further illustrated and confirmed, Gal. iv. 1—7. Mr. *Wesley* observes in a note on Rom. viii. 15. that, “*The spirit of bondage*, here seems directly to mean, those operations of the Holy Spirit, by which the soul on its first conviction, feels itself in bondage to sin, to the world, to Satan, and obnoxious to the wrath of God.” He has printed a sermon on the same text, in which he explains it in the same way.\* He was not singular in this interpretation, as might easily be shewn from respectable authority. But, though it be most true, that a person under conviction for sin, is in a state of bondage and fear, it does not follow that this is the *direct* meaning of the Apostle, or that the distinction between a servant and a son of God, ought to be immediately fixed on this foundation. Many among the most learned and pious persons in the christian church, have understood *the spirit of bondage to fear*, as referring to that *servile spirit*, or *spirit of servitude*, which the whole *Mosaic economy* tended to produce.† And this seems most agreeable to the tenor of the Apostle’s discourse, and most conformable to his grand design of establishing and illustrating the truth and excellency of the gospel, as a more perfect dispensation of mercy and favour from God.

We

\* This Sermon may be had at the Methodist Book-room, or at the Printer’s.

† See Doddridge; and Polc’s Synopsis.

We must not however suppose, that, because the faithful under the Old Testament, had a *spirit of bondage to fear*, they were not therefore children of God; or that they had not the spirit of God. In every age of the world, since the first promise of a Redeemer, those who have placed their confidence in the mercy of God, manifested through a promised Saviour, have become children of God, heirs of the heavenly inheritance,\* and experienced *some degree* of divine grace. But under the *Mosaic Dispensation*, the faithful themselves, were children held in a state of *servitude*, which produced fear, rather than filial confidence, or the spirit of adoption, crying *Abba, Father*. The reason of this was, the nature of that economy under which they lived, which was wonderfully adapted to the state of the *Israelites* in that age of the world, and only preparatory to the introduction of a more perfect dispensation of the divine favour.

The *Mosaic* economy, taking it in a loose and general sense, may be considered in three points of view, corresponding to the ends it was intended to answer. The first view of it, regards those laws it contained, which related *only* to external things, and were merely literal or carnal, as the Apostle calls them.\* The intention of these was, to separate the whole body of the people from idolatry, and all mixture with other nations: to preserve the worship of the true God in the world: to make the *Israelites* the depositaries of the promises, prophecies, and the whole word of God: and to keep their own tribes and families distinct: that as the Messiah was to descend, according to the flesh, from the seed of *Abraham*,

\* Heb. vii. 16. ix. 19.

*Abraham*, the tribe of *Judah*, and the family of *David*, his introduction into the world might be more strongly marked, the prophecies concerning him be distinctly fulfilled, and his character be clearly ascertained. These laws required no more than a mere external obedience, the reward of which was, the land of *Canaan*, with protection, prosperity, and long life.

The second view of it, is typical. The promise made to *Abraham*, being continued through this economy, the laws and institutions established for the purposes above mentioned, were so ordered as to become typical representations of Christ and the benefits of his kingdom. They gave a new modification to the promulgation of the promise of a Redeemer, the object of faith and hope in true believers, by which they obtained a foretaste of the grace and blessings of the gospel. All these laws and institutions were peculiar to *Moses*, purely external and temporary; being preparatory to the coming of *Christ*, when they were to be abolished.

The third view of this economy, regards those moral precepts introduced into it, to regulate the moral principles, as well as conduct of the people towards each of other, for the well-being of the state: and also such other commands as tended to give them a higher and more spiritual notion of their duty to God, and of the nature of sin, than the *Mosaic* code suggested. These were intended to raise the minds of the people to something higher than the mere external economy of *Moses*: to awaken in them a sense of their depravity; to shew them the spiritual nature of sin; its power, dominion, and guilt; that conscious of their wants, they might more ardently desire their great Deliverer, and be better prepared to receive him. These precepts and commands, be-

ing of a general and permanent nature, were not peculiar to *Moses*, nor to be done away with his institution: but additions to his economy, that were highly necessary and useful.

That the promise before made, was continued through this dispensation, is manifest. For as circumcision was not of *Moses*, but of the Fathers, so the Promise of grace and of life by *Christ*, was not given by him, but found by him already existing. It is not said, That the promise was added to the law; but, That the law was added to the promise.\* The of *Moses*, therefore, did not disannul, or do away the promise of salvation by a Redeemer, or any way alter the method of a sinner's justification before God, and acceptance to eternal life, as exemplified, in the case of *Abraham*: nor yet change, or lessen the obligation to those duties men owe to God, and to one another, founded on the permanent relations of of things. It follows, that these, and the law of *Moses*, though different in their nature, and designed for very different purposes, were associated together in this economy, until, *In the fulness of time*, God should send forth his Son.

But though the promise still existed under the law, which was intended to bring men ultimately to *Christ*; yet the *Mosaic* economy exhibited the *Messiah*, and the nature and benefits of his kingdom, through a kind of veil. These appeared in it, like objects placed in the back ground of a picture, distant, obscure, and diminished from their natural size. This representation best suited that age of the world, the state and circumstances of the *Israelites*, and the future designs of Providence. The prophets, indeed,

\* Gal. iii. 19.



indeed, as the fulness of time when *Christ* should appear, drew nearer and nearer, often brought forward these important objects into a stronger light, and gave them a more bold and full appearance, directing the minds of the people to look through their external and temporal economy, to blessings more general, permanent, and satisfactory.

Under this economy, God assumed the character and had the title of King of *Israel*, jealous of his prerogatives and glory. The people were prone to idolatry, which was rebellion against their King; and all the laws tended to produce a *Spirit of bondage to fear*, for their subjugation, that the external purposes of this dispensation might be obtained. So terrible was the appearance of the divine Majesty at the giving of the law, that the people said, *Let not God speak to us, lest we die.\** And *Moses* himself said, *I exceedingly fear and quake.†* The punishments under this government were exceedingly severe; so that an error through inadvertency was sometimes punished with immediate death, which made the most pious among them afraid.‡ The body of the ceremonial law, was minute, expensive, and laborious, and required the most *servile* obedience. *Peter* calls it a yoke, which neither they nor their fathers could bear, 1: and *Paul*, a yoke of bondage, 2. The yearly sacrifices brought their sins to their remembrance, the repetition shewing they were not expiated, 3. The people were kept at a distance from God in their worship; even from the symbol of his presence in the holiest of all, to which the high priest alone was admitted, and that but once a year, 4.

And

\* *Exod.* xx. 19.

† *Heb.* xii. 21.

‡ 2 *Sam.* vi. 7, 9.

1 *Acts* xv. 10.

2 *Gal.* v. 1.

3 *Heb.* x. 3, 18.

4 *Levit.* xvi. 2. *Heb.* ix. 7.

And even at the burning of incense morning and evening, the people stood praying without, 5. In their approaches to God in prayer, they addressed him as a Sovereign, under the title of God, or Lord; *Jesus Christ* being the first who taught us to say, *Our Father who art in heaven*; himself procuring for us this *παρρησία*, or *freedom and openness* of access to the presence of God. It was given in charge to *Moses*, that he should not let the priests, and the people *βιάσασθαι*. 6, *break through* the prescribed limits in their approaches to God, nor invade a place deemed too holy for them to enter. This was never allowed under the *ceremonial law*. How different is our liberty! *From the days of John the Baptist*, says our Lord, 7, *the kingdom of heaven*, *βιάσεται*, *suffereth violence*, or rather, *is invaded by violence*; that is, in *violation* of the commands and prohibitions of the *ceremonial law*; and the fences being broken down, which had shut out the *Gentiles* from it; and the formalities done away, which kept the *Jews* at a certain distance in bondage and fear, the *βιάται*, *invaders*, regardless of the solemnities and restrictions prescribed by the law, *ἀρπαζον αὐτὸν*, seize upon it with eagerness and confidence, having boldness to enter into the holiest by a new and living way.\*—The very word which the *Seventy* had used with a negative particle expressing prohibition, our Lord uses in the affirmative, thereby shewing the prohibition was taken off.—Indeed, the whole of the old economy was full of prohibitions, severities, and hardships; to which the most faithful and pious were subject, as well as the most wicked and profligate. It tended to produce bondage and fear,

5 Luke i. 10.

6 The Septuagint, Exod. xix. 24.

7 Matt. xi. 12.

\* Heb. x. 19, 20.

fear, particularly the fear of death, to which the *Jews* were then, and are even now, remarkably subject. The Apostle compares those under it, to persons shut up in a strong place of custody,\* like criminals who had not obtained the full privileges of a free pardon. Afterwards, comparing the condition of the faithful under the law of *Moses* with the privileges of believers under the gospel, he finely illustrates what is said, *Rom. viii. 15.* and fully establishes the distinction between a servant and a son—"Now I say, that the *HEIR*, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a *SERVANT*, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father: even so, when we were children—(that is under the *Mosaic* economy.)—We were in bondage under the elements of the world—(to which the ceremonial law may fitly be compared.)—But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his son—to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, *Abba, Father*. Wherefore thou art no more a *Servant*, but a *Son*."†—It appears then from what has been said, that the distinction Mr. *Wesley* made, is scriptural and just, so far as it relates to the different state of believers under the Old and New Testament. It must be observed however, that there is a low degree of Christian experience, in which a person is in a state similar to the condition of believers under the *Mosaic* dispensation, subject to bondage and fear, particularly the fear of death; and in the latter part of life, he judged this to have been his own state when he went to *America*, and re-

turned

\* Gal. iii. 23.

† Gal. iv. 1-7.

turned from it. The very learned *Buddeus*, has observed, that most professing Christians seem content to live in this state, without ever rising into the enjoyment of that full liberty wherewith *Christ* has made them free.\*

After Mr. *Wesley* arrived in *London*, he waited on the Trustees for *Georgia*, at several different times, and gave them an account of the colony; but his account was so different from what others had flattered them with, that he supposes they did not soon forgive him. Time however convinced them of Mr. *Wesley's* fidelity, when complaints pouring in upon them from all sides, they thought it best to resign their charter into the hands of the King.

Feb. 7. "A day much to be remembered," says Mr. *Wesley*, he met *Peter Bohler*, and two other persons, teachers in the *Moravian* church. Hitherto he had reduced his religious principles to practice, in the most scrupulous and rigorous manner, and yet had not attained that victory over the evils of his own heart, and that peace and happiness which he saw the gospel promised. It seems as if he had always supposed, that bodily austerities, and a religious regard to the duties he owed to God and man, would produce

\* In the above quotation from the *Seventy*, we may observe, that they translate the *Hebrew* word קרס by the *Greek* word βιάζω, *Exod.* xix. 24. The *Hebrew* verb occurs, in one form or other, about thirty-two times in the *Old Testament*. It generally signifies to break, throw down, or destroy; and often in opposition to building up: but no where exactly in the connexion it is here used, in reference to the limits prescribed to the people in their approaches to God; and it is remarkable that the *Seventy* have no where rendered it by the *Greek* verb βιάζω, but in this one place. Our Lord, by using the very same word without the negative particle, seems to intimate that freedom of access to God, not allowed under the law, is allowed under the gospel, the prohibition being taken off. *Walchius*, has hinted at this interpretation of our Lord's words, *Matt.* xi. 12. See *Missel. Sacra*, p. 768.

produce in him the christian faith, and the true christian temper. After about ten years of painful labour, his experience convinced him, that his notions were not evangelical, that he had considered as causes, things that were only placed as the fruits of faith in the gospel economy ; and therefore, that he neither possessed saving faith, nor had a right notion of it. Having observed, both at sea, and in *America*, that the *Moravian* brethren enjoyed a state of peace and comfort in their minds, to which he was almost wholly a stranger, he was well prepared to hear what these messengers of God had to say of faith as the means of obtaining it. He was determined that his conviction should be the result of knowledge ; and therefore made continual objections to what *Bohler* said on the subject. This occasioned *Bohler* to say, more than once, *Mi frater, Mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua philosophia* : My brother, my brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away. We may observe however, that objections in such cases, are seldom the result of just reasoning, but the mere effects of prejudice, which a previous system has produced in the mind.

Feb. 27. He took coach for *Salisbury*, to see his mother ; intending also, to visit his brother *Samuel* at *Tiverton*. But March 2, he received a message that his brother *Charles* was dying at *Oxford*, and immediately set out for that place. He now renewed and set down his former resolutions respecting his own behaviour. 1. To use absolute openness and unreserve, with all he should converse with. 2. To labour after continual seriousness, not willingly indulging himself in any the least levity of behaviour, or in laughter, no, not for a moment. 3. To speak no word which did not tend to the glory of God ; in particular,

particular, not to talk of worldly things. "Others may, nay must, (said he;) but what is that to me." 4. To take no pleasure, which did not tend to the glory of God, thanking God every moment for what he did take, and therefore rejecting every sort and degree of it, which he felt he could not so thank him *in and for it*.

At *Oxford* Mr. *Wesley* again met with *Peter Bohler*; "By whom, (says he) in the hand of the great God, I was on Sunday the 5th, clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of *that faith whereby alone we are saved*."—He afterwards added—"With the full christian salvation." He was now fully convinced, that his faith had hitherto been faith in God, too much separate from an evangelical view of the promises of a free justification, or pardon of sin, through the atonement and mediation of *Christ* alone; which was the reason why he had been held in continual bondage and fear. It immediately occurred to his mind, "Leave off preaching; how can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself?" He consulted his friend *Bohler*, who said, "By no means. Preach faith *till* you have it, and then *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith."

On the 15th of this month he set out for *Manchester*, accompanied by Mr. *Kinchin* of *Corpus-Christi-College*, and a Mr. *Fox*. In this journey they lost few opportunities of speaking on matters of religion to those they met with, either on the road, or at the inns. The practice was new, and the success various; some staring with silent astonishment, and others appeared thankful and ready to receive instruction. On the twenty-second they returned to *Oxford*, and next day Mr. *Wesley* observes, "I met *Peter Bohler* again, who now amazed me more and more, by the account  
he

he gave of the fruits of living faith, the holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it. The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolving to abide by *the law and the testimony*, being confident, that God would hereby shew me whether *this doctrine was of God.*"

About this time he began to pray *extempore*. March 27, Mr. *Kinchin* went with him to the castle, where, after reading prayers and preaching on, *It is appointed for men once to die*, "We prayed, (says he) with the condemned man, first in several forms of prayer, and then in such words as were given us in that hour. He kneeled down in much heaviness and confusion, having *no rest in his bones by reason of his sins*. After a space he rose up, and eagerly said, "I am now ready to die. I know Christ has taken away my sins, and there is no more condemnation for me. The same composed cheerfulness he shewed when he was carried to execution: and in his last moments was the same, enjoying a perfect peace in confidence that he was *accepted in the beloved*. Mr. *Wesley* again observes, that on Saturday, April 1, being at Mr. *Foxe's* society, he found his heart so full, that he could not confine himself to the forms of prayer they were accustomed to use there. "Neither says he, do I propose to be confined to them any more; but to pray indifferently, with a form or without, as I may find suitable to particular occasion."

A few observations have already been made, on the propriety and usefulness of extemporary prayer;\* and here we shall transcribe the words Dr. *Watts*† has

\* Vol. I. page 82.

† See his humble attempt towards the Revival of practical Religion, p. 161.

has quoted from the Marquis of *Halifax*, who being a Courtier in the reigns of the two brothers, King *Charles II.* and *James II.* cannot be supposed to have any partiality for a deviation from the forms of the established church. This noble writer, it seems, in a little book under a borrowed character, has expressed his own sentiments on this subject. "He tells us, says *Dr. Watts*, he is far from relishing the impertinent wanderings of those who pour out long prayers upon the congregation, and all from their own stock, too often a barren soil, which produces weeds instead of flowers, and by this means they expose religion itself rather than promote men's devotion; on the other side, there may be too great a restraint put upon men whom God and nature have distinguished from their fellow-labourers, by blessing them with a happier talent, and by giving them not only good sense, but a powerful utterance too; this has enabled them to gush out upon the attentive auditory with a mighty stream of devout and unaffected eloquence. When a man so qualified, endued with learning too, and above all adorned with a good life, breaks out into a warm and well delivered prayer before his sermon, it has the appearance of a divine rapture; he raises and leads the hearts of the assembly in another manner than the most composed or best studied form of set words can ever do; and the *Pray we's*, who serve up all their sermons with the same garnishing, would look like so many statues, or men of straw in the pulpit, compared with those who speak with such a powerful zeal, that men are tempted at the moment to believe that heaven itself has dictated their words to them."—We may observe that no man will pray with the energy and force here described, unless his own heart be animated and powerfully quickened, with the most lively



lively sentiments of true devotion : and if this be the case, a man will attain to it by constant habits of prayer and reading the scriptures, although he have but little learning, and his understanding not improved above mediocrity.

April 21. He met *Peter Bohler* once more. “ I had now (says he) no objection to what he said of the nature of faith ; that it is, to use the words of our church, a sure trust and confidence which a man has in God, that through the merit of Christ, his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God. Neither could I deny, either the happiness or holiness which he described as fruits of this living faith. “ The spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God ; and he that believeth hath the witness in himself, (fully convinced me of the former :) as, whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin ; and whosoever believeth is born of God,” did of the latter. But I could not comprehend what he spoke of an *instantaneous work*. I could not understand how this faith should be given in a moment : how a man could *at once*, be thus turned from darkness to light ; from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost. I searched the scriptures again touching this very thing, particularly the *Acts of the Apostles*. But to my utter astonishment, found scarce any instances there, of other than *instantaneous* conversions ; scarce any so slow as that of *St. Paul*.—I had but one retreat left, *viz.* Thus, I grant God wrought in the *first* ages of Christianity : but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe, he works in the same manner now ? But on Sunday 22, I was beat out of this retreat too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses ; who testified *God had so wrought in themselves ; giving them in a moment,*

ment, such a faith in the blood of his Son, as translated them out of darkness into light, and of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, *Lord, help thou my unbelief!*"

He now began to declare, *The faith as it is in Jesus*, which, those that were convinced of sin gladly received. A day or two following he was much confirmed in the truth by hearing the experience of Mr. *Hutchins* of *Pembroke-College*, and Mrs. *Fox*: "Two living witnesses (says he) that God *can* at least, if he *does* not always, give that faith whercof cometh salvation, in a moment, as lightning falling from heaven."

May 1. They began to form themselves into a religious society, which met in *Fetter-lane*. This has been called the first Methodist Society in *London*. Mr. *Wesley* distinguishes the origin of *Methodism*, into three distinct periods. "The first rise of *Methodism*, (says he) was in November 1729, when four of us met together at *Oxford*: the second was at *Savannah*, in April 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house: the last was at *London*, on this day, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together, every Wednesday evening, in order to free conversation, begun and ended with singing and prayer.\* This is hardly accurate; as Mr. *Wesley*, his brother and their friends, retained little but the exterior, of their former character. Having changed their doctrines, they were now *Moravians*, rather than the Methodists of *Oxford*, and *Savannah*. When some of the Moravian teachers, afterwards introduced innovations into their doctrines, Mr. *Wesley*, and his friends separated from them, and formed a distinct society, as will soon appear; and this, we apprehend,

\* See his Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. page 175.

hend, was the true origin of the present economy of of Methodism. In the society now formed, the old *Methodists*, and the *Moravians* were indiscriminately blended together in one body. Their rules were printed under the title of, *ORDERS of a RELIGIOUS SOCIETY, meeting in Fetter-lane; in obedience to the command of God by St. James, and by the advice of Peter Bohler*: It was then agreed.

1. That they would meet together once in a week, to confess their faults one to another, and to pray one for another that they might be healed,

2. That others, of whose sincerity they were well assured, might, if they desired it, meet with them for that purpose. And, May 29, it was agreed,

3. That the persons desirous of meeting together for that purpose, should be divided into several bands, or little companies, none of which should consist of fewer than five, or more than ten persons. •

4. That some person in each band, should be desired to speak to the rest in order, who might be called the leader of that band. And on Monday, September 26, it was further agreed,

5. That each band should meet twice in a week; once on Monday evening, and the second time when it was most convenient for each band; every meeting to be begun and ended with singing and prayer.

6. That every one in order, should speak as freely, plainly, and concisely, as he could, the state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances since the last time of meeting.

7. That all the bands should have a conference at eight every Wednesday evening, begun and ended with singing and prayer.

8. That any who desired to be admitted into this society, should be asked, What are your reasons for desiring

desiring this? Will you be entirely open, using no kind of reserve? Have you any objection to any of our orders? (which may then be read.)

9. That when any new member was proposed, every one present should speak clearly and freely whatever objection he had against him.

10. That those against whom no reasonable objection appeared, should be, in order for their trial, formed into one or more distinct bands, and some person agreed on to assist them.

11. That after two months' trial, if no objection then appeared, they might be admitted into the society.

12. That every fourth *Saturday* should be observed as a day of general intercession, which might continue from twelve to two, from three to five, and from six to eight.

13. That on the Sunday seven-night following, there should be a general love-feast, from seven till ten in the evening.

14. That no particular person should be allowed to act in any thing, contrary to any order of this society; but that every one without distinction should submit to the determination of his brethren; and that if any person or persons did not, after being thrice admonished, conform to the society, they should no longer be esteemed as members.

15. That any person whom the whole society should approve, might be accounted a corresponding member, and as such be admitted to the general meetings, provided he corresponded with the society, at least once a month.

The fourteenth rule, to which the ministers were subject as well as the common members, was an excellent preservative against the abuse of power; and some of the others are good guards against the ad-  
mission

mission of improper members. It would have been happy for the Methodist societies if these rules had been preserved among them, and rigorously kept: the work would in that case have been more pure than it has been, and much confusion would have been prevented.

Wherever Mr. *Wesley* was now invited to preach in the churches, he boldly offered to all, a free salvation through faith in the blood of *Christ*. At most of these, he was soon told, "Sir, you must preach here no more." To illustrate the reason of the offence which this doctrine gave, he has inserted in his own Journal, part of a letter written by Mr. *Gambold* to Mr. *Charles Wesley*, a little after this time. This letter abounds with fine thoughts on the subject, and contains some excellent advice. Mr. *Wesley* has inserted but a small part; I shall transcribe a little more of it.

"I have seen upon this occasion, more than ever I could have imagined, how intolerable the doctrine of faith is to the mind of man; how peculiarly intolerable to the *most religious* men. One may say the most unchristian things, even down to deism; the most enthusiastic things, so they proceed but upon mental raptures, lights and unions; the most severe things, even the whole rigour of ascetic mortification; and all this will be forgiven. But if you speak of faith, in such a manner as makes *Christ* a Saviour to the utmost, a most universal help and refuge; in such a manner as takes away glorying, but adds happiness to wretched man; as discovers a greater pollution in the best of us, than we could before acknowledge, but brings a greater deliverance from it, than we could before expect: if any one offers to talk at this rate, he shall be heard with the same abhorrence as if he was  
going

going to rob mankind of their salvation, their Mediator, or their highest happiness. I am persuaded, that a *Montanist*, or a *Novation*, who from the height of his purity should look with contempt upon poor sinners, and exclude them from all mercy, would not be thought such an overthrower of the gospel, as he who should learn from the author of it to be a friend to publicans and sinners, and to sit down upon the level with them as soon as they begin to repent. But this is not to be wondered at. For all religious people have such a quantity of righteousness, acquired by much painful exercise, and formed at last into current habits, which is their wealth both for this world and the next. Now all other schemes of religion are either so complaisant as to tell them they are very rich, and have enough to triumph in; or else only a little rough, but friendly in the main, by telling them their riches are are not sufficient, but by such arts of self-denial and mental refinement they may enlarge the stock. But the doctrine of faith is a downright robber; it takes away all this wealth, and only tells us, it is deposited for us with somebody else, upon whose bounty we must live like mere beggars. Indeed they who are truly beggars, vile and filthy sinners till very lately, may stoop to live in this dependent condition; it suits them well enough: but they who have long distinguished themselves from the herd of vicious wretches, or have even gone beyond moral men; for them to be told that they are either not so well; or but the same needy, impotent, insignificant vessels of mercy with others, this is more shocking to reason than transubstantiation. For reason had rather resign its pretensions to judge what is bread or flesh, than have this honour wrested from it, to be the architect of virtue and righteousness.—But where am I running? My  
design

*design was only to give you warning, that wherever you go, this foolishness of preaching will alienate hearts from you, and open mouths against you. What are you then to do, my dear friend? I will not exhort you to courage; we need not talk of that, for nothing that is approaching is evil. I will only mention the prejudice we shall be under, if we seem in the least to lay aside universal charity, and modesty of expression. Though we love some persons more than we did, let us love none less: and the rather, because we cannot say any one is bad, or destitute of divine grace, for not thinking as we do. Indignation at mankind, is a temper unsuitable to this cause. If we are at peace with God in Christ, let it soften our demeanor still more, even toward gainsayers.—What has given most offence hitherto, is what perhaps may best be spared: as some people's confident and hasty triumphs in the grace of God; not by way of humble thankfulness to him for looking upon them, or acknowledgment of some peace and strength unknown before, which they hope will be increased to them; but ingisting on the completeness of their deliverance already from all sin, and taking to them every apostolical boast in the strongest terms.—Let us speak of every thing in such manner as may convey glory to Christ, without letting it glance on ourselves by the way. Let us profess, when we can with truth, how really the christian salvation is fulfilled in us, rather than how sublimely.”—This is certainly most important advice, and ought to be daily considered and attended to in practice both by every minister, and by every private Christian, who has any experience of the grace and blessings of the gospel.*

Mr. *Wesley* now hungered and thirsted more and more after righteousness, even the righteousness which

is of God by faith. He saw the promise of justification and life was the free gift of God through *Jesus Christ*. The nearer he approached to the enjoyment of it, the more distinctly he perceived, and more strongly felt, his own sinfulness, guilt, and helplessness, which he thus expressed in a letter to a friend. "I feel what you say, though not enough, for I am under the same condemnation. I see that the whole law of God, is holy, just, and good. I know every thought, every temper of my soul, ought to bear God's image and superscription. But how am I fallen from the glory of God! I feel, that *I am sold under sin*. I know, that I too deserve nothing but wrath, being full of all abominations, and having no good thing in me to atone for them, or to remove the wrath of God. All my works, my righteousness, my prayers, need an atonement for themselves. So that my mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is holy, I am unholy. God is a consuming fire. I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed.

"Yet I hear a voice (and is it not the voice of God?) saying, *Believe and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth, is passed from death unto life. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

"O let no one deceive us by vain words, as if we had already attained this faith! By its fruits we shall know it. Do we already feel *peace with God, and joy in the Holy Ghost*? Does his *Spirit bear witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God*? Alas! with mine he does not. Nor I fear with your's. O thou Saviour of men, save us from trusting in any thing but *Thee*! Draw us after Thee! Let us be



be emptied of ourselves, and then fill us with all peace and joy in believing, and let nothing separate us from thy love in time or eternity."

Mr. *Wesley* continued in this state, till Wednesday, May 24. "I think (says he) it was about five this morning, that I opened my Testament on these words, *There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature.* 2 Pet. i. 4. Just as I went out, I opened it again on those words, *Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.* In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, *Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord; Lord hear my voice. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If thou Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But there is mercy with thee; therefore thou shalt be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sins.*

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in *Aldersgate-street*, where one was reading *Luther's* preface to the Epistle to the *Romans*. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in *Christ*, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in *Christ*, *Christ* alone for salvation: and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

"I began to pray with all my might, for those who had in a more especial manner despitely used me, and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there, what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, 'This cannot be

be faith, for where is thy joy.' Then was I taught, that *peace and victory over sin, are essential to faith in the Captain of our Salvation; but, that as to the transports of joy, that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth them, according to the counsels of his own will.*"

Mr. Wesley's confidence was often interrupted with doubts and fears, which however lasted but a short time, generally vanishing away in prayer. When we consider the constant vicissitude of things around us, the occasions of temptation continually presented to our senses, and the nature of the human constitution, liable to receive various impressions from external things and circumstances against our will; we may pronounce it impossible that we should always enjoy an uniformity, or perpetual sameness of agreeable sensations, and consequently not the same degree of religious joy. Properly speaking, the whole set of sensations arising from the sources just mentioned, with the imaginations of the mind arising from them, whether agreeable, or painful, even to melancholy, are no evidences of our christian state. And therefore the changes in these sensations, however frequent, or painful, are no evidences of any change in our relation to God, because not imputed to us as sin, while the christian temper is preserved. They are, indeed, totally different both in their source, their nature, and their tendency, from those internal feelings of the mind which inseparably accompany convictions for sin, and true justifying faith in *Christ*. These are produced by the truths of revealed religion proposed to the understanding, clearly understood, firmly believed, and by the influence of a divine agency accompanying them, applied with energy to our own individual

individual state. Their nature and tendency are equally distinct from the sensations above-mentioned. Yet these sensations arising from external causes, and out of our own power to prevent, may in some circumstances rise to that height, as to produce for a season, a cloudiness and heaviness upon the most sincere mind; in which case, the comfort or joy generally following a justified state, will not be so strongly felt, nor so distinctly perceived as before. This is the reason why young converts so generally fall into doubts and perplexities concerning their state, merely through ignorance of the distinction they ought to make, between the effects of sensations on the human constitution occasioned by external objects or circumstances, and the true evidences of their acceptance with God. Hence also we see the principle on which we may safely maintain, that doubts and fears are consistent with justifying faith.

Perhaps it may be said, without incurring the charge of censoriousness, that few preachers of the gospel, have sufficiently studied the present state of human nature, to be able to clear the difficulties which sometimes accompany christian experience. Mr. *Wesley* was, at present, but a young convert; and therefore we cannot wonder at his perplexities. June 6. He tells us, "I received a letter from *Oxford*, which threw me into much perplexity. It was asserted therein, 'That no doubting could consist with the least degree of true faith: that whoever at any time felt any doubt or fear, was not *weak in faith*, but had *no faith* at all: and that none hath any faith, till the law of the spirit of life has made him *wholly* free from the law of sin and death.'—Begging of God to direct me, I opened my Testament on 1 Cor. iii. 1. where St. *Paul* speaks of those whom he terms *babes in Christ*,  
who

who were *not able to bear strong meat* : nay who were, in a sense, *carnal* : whom he nevertheless says, *Ye are God's building, ye are the temple of God*. Surely then these men had *some degree* of faith, though it is plain their faith was but *weak*."

June 7. "I determined if God should permit, to retire for a short time into *Germany*. I had fully proposed before I left *Georgia*, so to do, if it should please God to bring me back to *Europe*. And I now clearly saw the time was come. My weak mind could not bear to be thus sawn asunder. And I hoped the conversing with those holy men, who were themselves living witnesses of the full power of faith, and yet able to bear with those that are weak, would be a means under God of so establishing my soul, that I might *go on from faith to faith, and from strength to strength*.

Having taken leave of his mother, he embarked on Tuesday the 13th, accompanied by Mr. *Ingham* and three others, *English*, and three *Germans*.\* In passing through *Holland*, he met with great hospitality and friendship, particularly from Dr. *Koker*, a physician of *Rotterdam*. The *German* formalities in admitting strangers into their towns, even in times of peace, gave him and his friends a great deal of trouble, and were peculiarly disagreeable; as they always are to *Englishmen*, nothing of the kind being known with us.

July 4. He arrived at *Marienborn*, where he found Count *Zinzendorf*, and others of the brethren, whose Christian conversation greatly refreshed his mind. He was present at their conferences for strangers; at one of which the Count was asked, "Can a man be justified and not know it?" He answered to the following effect.

1. Justification is the forgiveness of sins.
2. The moment a man flies to *Christ*, he is justified :

3. And has peace with God, but not always joy : 4. Nor perhaps may he know he is justified, till long after : 5. For the assurance of it is distinct from justification. 6. But others may know he is justified by his power over sin, by his seriousness, his love of the brethren, and his *hunger and thirst after righteousness, which alone prove the spiritual life to be begun.*

In giving this statement, Mr. Wesley has not made any remark on the fourth proposition, which seems to imply that he did not disapprove of it. But certainly it ought not to stand in so unguarded a manner. We know, 1. That if a man be really justified, a very great change has taken place in the state of his mind, which will shew itself in his life and conversation. 2. That a man must necessarily be conscious of what has passed within himself, whether the change was instantaneous or gradual. 3. If therefore, a man do not know that he is justified, when he really is so, it is because he does not understand the true scriptural evidence of a state of justification. This has sometimes been the case ; when a man truly convinced of sin, and trusting in *Christ* for salvation, has not had the happiness to sit under a gospel minister ; or, when he has sat under a minister, who though he preached the doctrines of the gospel, did not rightly divide the word of truth, nor point out to his hearers, the order to be observed in the gradations of christian experience, evidently founded on scripture and the nature of the human faculties. Such a preacher, will never give his hearers clear and distinct views of the evidences of their state, whatever that state may be.

From *Marienborn* Mr. Wesley wrote to his brother *Samuel*, as follows, “ God has given me at length the desire of my heart. I am with a church whose  
conversation

conversation is in heaven, in whom is the mind that was in *Christ*, and who so walk as he walked. As they have all one Lord and one faith, so they are all partakers of one spirit; the spirit of meekness and love, which uniformly, and continually animates all their conversation. O how high and holy a thing Christianity is! And how widely distant from that—I know not what—which is so called, though it neither purifies the heart, nor renews the life, after the image of our our blessed Redeemer.

“ I grieve to think how that holy name, by which we are called, must be blasphemed among the heathen; while they see discontented Christians, passionate Christians, resentful Christians, earthly-minded Christians. Yea, to come to what we are apt to count small things, while they see Christians judging one another, ridiculing one another, speaking evil of one another, increasing, instead of bearing one another's burdens. How bitterly would *Julian* have applied to these, ‘ See how these Christians love one another.’ I know, I myself, I doubt *you* sometimes, and my sister often, have been under this condemnation. O may God grant, we may never more think to do him service, by breaking those commands which are the very life of his religion! But may we utterly put away all anger, and wrath, and malice, and bitterness, and evil speaking.”

July 19. Mr. *Wesley* left *Marienborn*, and August 1, arrived at *Hernhuth*. Here he staid a fortnight; during which time he had frequent opportunities of conversing with the most experienced of the brethren in that place, of hearing several of them preach, and of acquainting himself with their whole economy. “ I would gladly, (says he) have spent my life here; but my Master calling me to labour in another part of his

his vineyard, on Monday 14th, I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place—O when shall THIS Christianity cover the earth, as the *waters cover the sea.*” He adds in another place, “I was exceedingly comforted and strengthened by the conversation of this lovely people; and returned to *England* more fully determined to spend my life in testifying the gospel of the grace of God.”

Sept. 16. He arrived again in *London*, having no intention but to preach the gospel in the churches; and accordingly wherever he was invited, he boldly declared, *by grace ye are saved through faith.* This doctrine, branched into all its parts, was opposed by most of the clergy; and in most places, the genteel part of the congregation was offended at the crowds that followed him, so that he was frequently told after preaching, that he must preach there no more. This at length became so general, that it amounted to an exclusion from almost all the churches in *London*. October 9. He met with the Narrative of the revival of the work of God about the town of *Northampton* in *New-England*. He sent an extract of this to a friend, whose answer threw him into some perplexity, and occasioned him to enter into a very close examination of himself; which he describes as follows. .

“*Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith.* Now the surest test whereby we can examine ourselves, whether we be indeed in the faith, is that given by *St. Paul*, *If any man be in Christ he is a new creature. Old things are passed away: behold all things are become new.*

“First, His judgments are new: his judgment of himself, of happiness, of holiness.

“He judges himself to be altogether fallen short of the glorious image of God. To have no good thing

thing abiding in him; but all that is corrupt and abominable, &c.—Thus by the grace of God in *Christ*, I judge of myself. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

“ Again. His judgment concerning happiness is new. He would as soon expect to dig it out of the earth, as to find it in riches, honour, pleasure, so called, or indeed, in the enjoyment of any creature; he knows there can be no happiness on earth, but in the enjoyment of God, and in the foretaste of those *rivers of pleasure which flow at his right hand for evermore*.—Thus by the grace of God in *Christ*, I judge of happiness. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

“ Yet again. His judgment concerning holiness is new. He no longer judges it to be an outward thing: to consist either, in doing no harm, in doing good, or in using the ordinances of God.\* He sees it is the life of God in the soul; the image of God fresh stamped on the heart: an entire renewal of the mind in every temper and thought, after the likeness of him that created it.—Thus by the grace of God in *Christ*, I judge of holiness. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

“ Secondly, His designs are new. It is the design of his life, not to heap treasures upon earth, not to gain the praise of men, not to indulge the desire of the flesh, the desire of eye, or the pride of life; but to regain the image of God; to have the life of God again planted in his soul; and to be renewed after his likeness in righteousness and all true holiness.—This, by the grace of God in *Christ*, is the design of my life. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

“ Thirdly, His desires are new, and indeed all the whole train of his passions and inclinations. They  
are



are no longer fixed on earthly things. They are now set on the things of heaven. His love, and joy, and hope; his sorrow, and fear, have all respect to things above. They all point heavenward. Where his treasure is, there is his heart also.—I dare not say I am a new creature in this respect. For other desires often arise in my heart. But they do not reign. I put them all under my feet through *Christ*, who strengtheneth me. Therefore I believe he is *creating* me anew in this also, and that he has begun, though not finished his work.

“Fourthly, His conversation is new. It is *always seasoned with salt, and fit to minister grace to the hearers*.—So is mine, by the grace of God in Christ: therefore, in this respect, I am a new creature.

“Fifthly, His actions are new. The tenor of his life singly points at the glory of God. All his substance and time are devoted thereto. *Whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he does*, it either springs from, or leads to the glory of God and the good of man.—Such by the grace of God in *Christ*, is the tenor of my life. Therefore, in this respect, I am a new creature.” He concludes thus, “Upon the whole, although I have not yet that joy in the Holy Ghost, nor the full assurance of faith, much less am I, in the full sense of the words, *in Christ a new creature*: I nevertheless trust that I have a measure of faith, and am *accepted in the beloved*: I trust, *the hand writing that was against me is blotted out*, and that I am *reconciled to God* through his Son.”

The whole of this examination of himself plainly shews, that however credulous Mr. *Wesley* might be, with respect to the reports of others, and credulous he certainly was, yet in judging of his own state, he placed no confidence in visions, dreams, or sudden impressions on the mind; but calmly and rationally examined,

examined, whether he had true scriptural evidence; that he was *passed from death unto life*.

October 13. Being at *Oxford* he found leisure to write to a few of his friends in *Holland* and *Germany*. These letters shew us something of the state of his mind, how he was employed and the success of his labours. To Dr. *Koker* of *Rotterdam* he wrote as follows: "I have delayed writing till now in hopes I might have had an opportunity of transcribing the papers you desired, before I wrote. But I find I cannot have time for this yet; it having pleased God to give me full employment of another nature. His blessed spirit has wrought so powerfully both in *London* and *Oxford*, that there is a general awakening, and multitudes are crying out, What must we do to be saved? So that till our gracious Master sendeth more labourers into his harvest, all my time is much too little for them.

"May our blessed Lord repay seven fold into your bosoms, the kindness shewed to us for his name's sake! that, you may be found in him, not having your own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith, is the earnest prayer of, Dear Sir, your unworthy brother in Christ."

"To Mr. *Ingham*, at *Hernhuth*.

"O my dear brother, God hath been wonderfully gracious to us, ever since our return to *England*. Though there are many adversaries, yet a great door and effectual is opened; and we continue, through evil report and good report, to preach the gospel of *Christ* to all people, and earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. Indeed he hath given unto us many of our fiercest opposers, who now receive with meekness the ingrafted word. One of  
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the bitterest of them could have no rest in his spirit, till on Saturday, the 30th of September, O. S. he was compelled to send for me, who knew him not, so much as by face, and to tell me the secrets of his heart. He owned with many tears, that in spite of all his endeavours, he was still carnal, sold under sin: that he continually did the thing he would not, and was thereby convinced of the entire corruption of his whole nature: that the very night before, after the most solemn resolutions to the contrary, he had been guilty of gross drunkenness, and had no hope of escaping, having neither spirit nor strength left in him.— We fell on our knees, and besought our Lord to bring this sinner unto God, who through his blood justifieth the ungodly. He arose, and his countenance was no longer sad; for he knew, and testified aloud, that he was passed from death unto life, and felt in himself, that he was healed of his plague. And from that hour to this, he hath had peace and joy in believing, and sin hath no more dominion over him.

“ Mr. *Stonehouse* hath at length determined to know nothing but *Jesus Christ*, and him crucified; and to preach unto all, remission of sins through faith in his blood. Mr. *Sparkes* also, is a teacher of sound doctrine. Mr. *Hutchins* is strong in the faith, and mightily convinces gainsayers, so that no man hitherto hath been able to stand before him. Mr. *Kinchin*, *Gambold*, and *Wells*, have not yet received comfort, but are patiently waiting for it. Mr. *Robson*, who is now a minister of Christ also, is full of faith, and peace, and love. So is Mr. *Combes*, a little child, who was called to minister in holy things two or three weeks ago. Indeed I trust our Lord will let us see, and that shortly, a multitude of priests that believe. My brother and I, are partly here, and partly in *London*.

don, till Mr. *Whitefield*, or some other, is sent to release us from hence.

“ Pray for us continually, my dear brother, that we may make full proof of our ministry ; and may ourselves stand fast in the grace of our Lord *Jesus* : and as soon as you can, send word of what he is doing by and for you.”

“ To Count *Zinzendorf*, at *Marienborn*.

“ May our gracious Lord, who counteth whatsoever is done to the least of his brethren, as done to himself, return seven-fold to you and the Countess, and to all the brethren, the kindnesses you did to us ! It would have been great satisfaction to me, if I could have spent more time with the Christians who love one another. But that could not be now ; my master having called me to work in another part of his vineyard. Nor did I return hither at all before the time : for though a great door and effectual had been opened, the adversaries had laid so many stumbling blocks before it, that the weak were daily turned out of the way. Numberless misunderstandings had arisen, by means of which the way of truth was much blasphemed : and thence had sprung anger, clamour, bitterness, evil-speaking, envyings, strifes, railings, evil-surmises ; whereby the enemy had gained such an advantage over the little flock, that of the rest durst no man join himself to them.

“ But it has now pleased our blessed Master to remove, in great measure, these rocks of offence. The word of the Lord again runs and is glorified ; and his work goes on and prospers. Great multitudes are every where awakened, and cry out, ‘ What must we do to be saved ? ’ Many of them see, that there is only one name under heaven whereby they can be saved :

saved: and more and more of those who seek it, find salvation in his name: and these are of one heart and one soul. They all love one another, and are knit together in one body, and one spirit; as in one faith, and one hope of their calling. The love and zeal of our brethren in *Holland* and *Germany*, particularly at *Hernhuth*, has stirred up many among us, who will not be comforted till they also partake of the great and precious promises. I hope, if God permit, to see them at least once more, were it only to give them the fruit of my love, the speaking freely on a few things which I did not approve, perhaps because I did not understand them. May our merciful Lord give you a right judgement in all things, and make you to abound more and more in all lowliness and meekness, in all simplicity and godly sincerity, in all watchfulness and seriousness: in a word, in all faith and love, particularly to those that are without; till you are merciful as your father which is in heaven is merciful! I desire your constant and earnest prayers, that he would vouchsafe me a portion of the same spirit."

"To the Church of God which is in *Hernhuth*, *John Wesley*, an unworthy Presbyter of the Church of God in *England*, wisheth all grace and peace in our Lord *Jesus Christ*: October 14.

"Glory be to God, even the father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, for his unspeakable gift! for giving me to be an eye witness of your faith, and love, and holy conversation in *Christ Jesus*. I have borne testimony thereof with all plainness of speech, in many parts of *Germany*, and thanks have been given to God by many on your behalf.

"We are endeavouring here also, by the grace which is given us, to be followers of you, as ye are of *Christ*. Fourteen are added to us since our return, so that

that we have now eight bands of men, consisting of fifty-six persons, all of whom seek for salvation only in the blood of *Christ*. As yet we have only two small bands of women, the one of three, the other of five persons. But here are many others who only wait till we have leisure to instruct them, how they may most effectually build up one another in the faith and love of him who gave himself for them.

“ Though my brother and I are not permitted to preach in most of the churches in *London*, yet thanks be to God, there are others left, wherein we have liberty to speak the truth as it is in *Jesus*. Likewise every evening, and on set evenings in the week at two several places, we publish the word of reconciliation, sometimes to twenty or thirty, sometimes to fifty or sixty, sometimes to three or four hundred persons met together to hear it. We begin and end all our meetings with singing and prayer : and we know that our Lord heareth our prayer, having more than once or twice, and this was not done in a corner, received our petitions in that very hour.

“ Nor hath he left himself without other witnesses of his grace and truth. Ten ministers I know now in *England*, who lay the right foundation, *The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin*. Over and above whom, I have found one *Anabaptist*, and one, if not two of the teachers among the *Presbyterians* here, who, I hope, love the Lord *Jesus Christ* in sincerity, and teach the way of God in truth.

“ O cease not, ye that are highly favoured, to beseech our Lord that he would be with us even to the end ; to remove that which is displeasing in his sight, to support that which is weak among us, to give us the whole mind that was in him, and teach us to walk even as he walked ! And may the very God of peace

fill up what is wanting in your faith, and build you up more and more in all lowliness of mind, in all plainness of speech, in all zeal and watchfulness ; that he may present you to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that ye may be holy and unblameable in the day of his appearing."

We should not do justice to Mr. *Wesley*, were we to suppose, that he meant in this letter to insinuate, there were only ten clergymen in *England* who preached the gospel. He particularly refers to those he personally knew, who had been lately awakened out of sleep, and now saw the way of salvation through faith in *Christ Jesus*. And his principles and connexions, as a high churchman, had separated him from all denominations of Dissenters, so that he could have had very little acquaintance with them. Perhaps the three to whom he refers, were all he could speak of from his own personal knowledge ; though, no doubt many others taught the way of God in truth.

Mr. *Wesley* pursued his labours with unremitting diligence, spending his time from an early hour in the morning, till night, in preaching, exhorting, praying, or conversing with the people, on subjects that related to Christian experience. Nov. 22. He again wrote to three or four of his religious friends, and spake more freely than before, of the state of his own mind.

"To Dr. *Koker* at *Rotterdam*.

"My desire and prayer to God is, that the glorious gospel of his Son, may run and be glorified, among you as it doth among us ; and much more abundantly ! I should rejoice to hear, what our Lord hath done for you also. Is the number of believers multiplied ? Do they love one another ? Are they all of one heart and one soul ? Do they build up one another, in the knowledge and love  
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of our Lord *Jesus Christ*? May he multiply your little flock a thousand fold, how many soever you be! May he fill you with all peace and joy in believing! May he preserve you in all lowliness of spirit! And may he enable you to use great plainness of speech, both toward each other, and toward all men; and by manifestation of the truth, to commend yourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God!

“ Even to this hour, I have not had one day's leisure, to transcribe for you the papers I brought from *Hernhuth*: the harvest here also, is so plenteous, and the labourers so few; and it increases upon us daily. Verily the spirit of the Lord hath lift up his standard against the iniquity which hath overspread our land as a flood! O pray ye for us, that he would send more labourers into his harvest! And that he would enable us whom he hath already sent, to approve ourselves faithful ministers of the New Covenant, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report,! In particular let all the brethren and sisters who are with you, pray that God would warm with his love, the cold heart of, Dear Sir, your much obliged and very affectionate brother in Christ, *J. Wesley.*”

“ To Mr. *Vincy* at *Ysselstein*.

“ After a long sleep, there seems now to be a great awakening in this place also. The spirit of the Lord hath already shaken the dry bones, and some of them stand up and live. But I am still dead and cold; having peace indeed, but no love or joy in the Holy Ghost. O pray for me, that I may see and feel myself a sinner, and have a full interest in the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world!” &c.

“ To *Isaac Le-long*, at *Amsterdam*.

“ Do not think my dear brother that I have forgotten you. I cannot forget you, because I love you:  
though



though I cannot love any one yet, as I ought, because I cannot love our blessed Lord *as I ought*. My heart is cold and senseless: it is in deed a heart of stone. Pray for me, and let all your household pray for me; yea and all the brethren also, that our God would give me a broken heart, a loving heart; a heart wherein his spirit may delight to dwell.

“ May our good Lord repay you all a thousand fold for the love you shewed to us. How does his gospel prosper at *Amsterdam*? Are believers multiplied? and is his grace mighty among you? Is their name yet cast out as evil (for that must be the next;) and do all men despitefully use you, and persecute you? I want you to say a great deal to me of it. But above all, I want you to pray a great deal, for your poor, weak brother, *John Wesley*.”

We see by these letters, that Mr. *Wesley* was not carried up on high as on eagle's wings, by any extatic joy which obliterated the common feelings of human nature: he walked in the valley, humble and low, bemoaning his condition, and struggling against the dulness and sluggishness of his own heart. Had he been actuated in his labours, only by a religious fervour of mind, his diligence would not have been so uniform as it was, nor his perseverance so lasting. Our passions and inward feelings are necessarily variable; and if we are impelled only by these, in a religious course of life, or in any other laudable pursuit, our diligence will remit, and our perseverance be short, especially when temptation and interest draw another way. Mr. *Wesley* acted on a different principle. He had a strong conviction, founded on cool reflection, that he was every day doing what God required him to do: he considered his success in turning sinners from  
darkness

darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, as a testimony of the divine approbation of his conduct; and therefore believed, that he was labouring for the best interests of his fellow mortals. This conviction was so strong that no persecution or opposite interest could ever divert him from his pursuits.

December 11. Hearing Mr. *Whitefield* was returned from *Georgia*, he went to *London* to meet him, and they again took sweet counsel together. January 1, 1739. He was present at a love-feast in *Fetter-lane*, together with Mr. *Hall*, *Kinchin*, *Ingham*, *Whitefield*, *Hutchins*, and his brother *Charles*; and about sixty of the brethren. "About three in the morning, (says he) as we were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground. As soon as we were recovered a little from that awe and amazement at the presence of his Majesty, we broke out with one voice, *We praise Thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.*"—How little does the world know; how little do merely speculative and formal Christians know, of these refreshing, invigorating seasons which come from the presence of the Lord, and give to the true worshippers a demonstrative evidence of the truth of Christianity!

In the spring Mr. *Whitefield* went to *Bristol*, and there first began to preach in the open air, to incredible numbers of people. Mr. *Wesley* continued his labours in *London* and *Oxford* alternately, and occasionally in the neighbouring places without any intention of altering his usual manner of proceeding. But in the latter end of March, he received a letter from Mr. *Whitefield*, who entreated him in the most

pressing manner to come to *Bristol*, evidently with intention that he might step into this new path which now lay open before him. At first he was not at all forward to comply with the request; and his brother *Charles*, and some others, warmly opposed his going; from an unaccountable apprehension that it would prove fatal to him. At length Mr. *Wesley* freely gave himself up, to whatever the Lord should appoint. It was a rule of the society, "That any person who desired, or designed to take a journey, should first, if it were possible, have the approbation of the Bands:" so entirely were the ministers, at this time, under the direction of the people! Accordingly on the 28th, the matter was laid before them, and after some debate they determined that he should comply with Mr. *Whitefield's* request. He left *London* the next day, and on the 31st came to *Bristol*.

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THE  
L I F E  
OF THE  
*Reverend John Wesley.*

BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

*Containing a View of Mr. Wesley's Labours as an  
Itinerant Preacher, and of the formation of  
Societies, &c. till the first  
Methodist Conference, in 1744.*

THE steps of Mr. *Wesley*, already traced, from his infancy to the present period, forms an important era of his life. He now commenced a *Field Preacher*, and Itinerancy naturally followed, which, under God, laid the foundation of the present system of *Methodism*. It has often been suggested by his opponents, that the plan of *Methodism* was the result of a long premeditated design: but on a careful examination into the very minutiae of his life till this time, no such design appears. He positively asserts the contrary; and every circumstance collected from his private papers, confirms the truth of his assertion. It is indeed true, that

by a strange chain of providences, he was admirably fitted without any design of his own, to prosecute the plan he now entered upon through all its consequences. After many years of painful labour and exercise of mind, he had obtained clear and distinct views of the gospel; and what was especially necessary to his success, well understood the order observable in the gradations of christian experience, from the first commencement of a work of grace on the mind, to its consummation. He had long been inured to fatigue and hardship; a qualification highly necessary for the success of his present plan of proceedings. He had experienced great opposition, contempt, reproach, and even persecution, both in *England* and *America*; which made them appear in the prospect of his new undertaking less formidable to him, than they would have done to others. Most of the churches in *London* had been shut against him, so that his opportunities of preaching became very limited, and as he durst not be silent, he was reduced to a kind of necessity to preach in the open air, in opposition to his former notions and habits. But he observes, "I have since seen abundant reason to adore the wise providence of God herein, making a way for myriads of people, who never troubled any church, nor were likely so to do, to hear that word which they soon found to be the power of God unto salvation."

April 1. Mr. *Whitefield* having left *Bristol*, Mr. *Wesley* began to expound to a little society, accustomed to meet in *Nicholas-Street*, our Lord's sermon on the mount; "One pretty remarkable precedent, says he, of *field preaching*, though I suppose *there were churches* at that time also. Monday the second, I submitted to be *more vile*, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city; to about three thousand

sand people.”—His preaching was attended with surprising success, so that in a very short time, a few, and afterwards a greater number agreed to meet together, to edify and strengthen one another, as the people already did in *London*.

Mr. *Wesley* continued in *Bristol* and the neighbouring places till June. He thus describes his public labours through the week: “My ordinary employment in public, was now as follows: every morning I read prayers and preached at *Newgate*. Every evening I expounded a portion of scripture, at one or more of the societies. On Monday in the afternoon I preached abroad near *Bristol*; on Tuesday at *Bath* and *Two Mile-Hill*, alternately. On Wednesday at *Baptist-Mills*. Every other Thursday, near *Pensford*. Every other Friday in another part of *Kingswood*. On Saturday in the afternoon, and on Sunday morning in the *Bowling-Green*. On Sunday at eleven near *Hannam-Mount*; at two at *Clifton*; at five, at *Rose-Green*. And hitherto, *as my day is*, so is my strength.”—He tells us, he could scarcely reconcile himself at first, to this strange way of preaching in the fields, of which Mr. *Whitefield* had set him the example; “Having been, says he, till very lately, so very tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls *almost à sin*, if it had not been done *in a church*.”

During this summer, his preaching at *Bristol* was attended with some extraordinary circumstances, which made much noise, and gave great offence. Under his sermon, some persons trembled from head to foot: others, fell down and cried out with a loud and bitter cry: whilst others became speechless, and seemed convulsed as if in the agonies of death. After prayer for them, many rose up rejoicing in God, and testifying,

ing, they had redemption through the blood of *Christ*, even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace. Some afterwards said, they had so strong a representation of *Christ* to their mind at that time, that it seemed like a vision of him, evidently set forth crucified among them : and in that moment they were enabled to believe on him. Others pretended they had a similar representation of him in a dream, and through faith received the remission of sins. Little regard ought to be had to these declarations, as evidences of conversion ; because the judgment of these persons must be greatly confused, while their passions were so much agitated. Mr. *Wesley* himself, at first knew not how to judge of these extraordinary things ; but when he found that most of the persons so affected, held fast their confidence, and walked worthy of their christian calling, adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, he could not deny that there was a real genuine work of grace upon their minds. He did not however consider agitations, visions, or dreams, as any evidence of a true conversion to God ; but as adventitious or accidental circumstances, which from various causes might, or might not, attend it : and this view of them, he thought perfectly consistent with Scripture. The gentle manner in which, under these views, he spake of them was generally misunderstood, raised up several adversaries, and caused the good that was really done, to be evil spoken of. He gave a particular account from time to time of the things that happened, to such ministers as he thought sincerely desired the encrease of God's kingdom, and had some experience of it. Mr. *Ralph Erskine* was very favourable in his judgment of these adventitious circumstances ; and says, " I desire to bless my Lord, for the great and good news your letter bears, about the Lord's turning many souls  
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*from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and that such a great and effectual door is opened among you as the many adversaries cannot shut.*—As to the outward manner you speak of, wherein most of them were affected who were cut to the heart by the sword of the Spirit, no wonder this was at first surprising to you, since they are indeed so very rare, that have been thus pricked and wounded. Yet some of the instances you give, seem to be exemplified in the outward manner wherein *Paul*, and the jailor, were at first affected; as also *Peter's* hearers, Acts ii.—What influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have on the body, I pretend not to explain; but I make no question Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction.—However, the merciful issue of the conflicts in the conversion of the persons thus affected, is the main thing.

“ All the outward appearances of people's being affected *among us*, may be reduced to these two sorts; one is, hearing with a close, silent attention, with gravity and greediness, discovered by fixed looks, weeping eyes, and sorrowful or joyful countenances; another sort is, when they lift up their voice aloud, some more depressedly, and others more highly; and at times the whole multitude in a flood of tears, all as it were crying out at once, till their voice be ready to drown the minister's, that he can scarce be heard for the weeping noise that surrounds him.—The influence on some of these, like a land flood, dries up: we hear of no change wrought. But on others it appears in the fruits of righteousness, and the tract of a holy



holy conversation."—It seems from this letter, that Mr. *Wesley* was not the only gospel minister, whose discourses were, at certain times, attended with uncommon effects on the minds of the hearers.

Mr. *Samuel Wesley* judged much more unfavourably of the outward circumstances attending his brother's preaching; and in some respects denied the assurance of the pardon of sins, which the people professed to experience. A correspondence took place on these subjects, between him and Mr. *John Wesley*, a part of which has already been published by Dr. *Priestley*, in his collection of, *Original letters by the Rev. John Wesley*," &c. But as this correspondence stands there in a mutilated state, it may mislead the judgment of some persons, not much acquainted with the history of *Methodism*: It therefore may be necessary, and do justice to Mr. *Wesley's* character, to give a more complete view of it, occasionally adding a remark for further illustration of the subject.

This correspondence commenced in the latter end of the year 1738; but we have referred the account of it to this place, that the whole of it may appear together. The first letter on this controversy, which has been preserved, was written by Mr. *John Wesley*, dated the 30th of October. He observes to his brother *Samuel*, "That you will always receive kindly, what is so intended, I doubt not.—With regard to my own character, and my doctrine likewise, I shall answer you very plainly. By a Christian, I mean one who so believes in *Christ*, as that sin hath no more dominion over him; and in this obvious sense of the word, I was not a Christian till May the 24th, last past. For till then sin had the dominion over me, although I fought with it continually; but surely then, from that time to this, it hath not; such is the free grace of  
God

God in *Christ*. What sins they were, which till then reigned over me, and from which, by the grace of God, I am now free, I am ready to declare on the house-top, if it may be for the glory of God.

“ If you ask by what means I am made free (though not perfect, neither infallibly sure of my perseverance) I answer, by faith in Christ; by such a sort or degree of faith, as I had not till that day.— Some measure of this faith, which bringeth salvation or victory over sin, and which implies peace and trust in God through *Christ*, I do now enjoy by his free mercy; though in very deed, it is in me but as a grain of mustard-seed: for the *πληροφορία*, the seal of the Spirit, the love of God shed abroad in my heart and producing joy in the Holy Ghost; joy which no man taketh away; joy unspeakable and full of glory; this witness of the Spirit I have not, but I patiently wait for it. I know many who have already received it; more than one or two, in the very hour we were praying for it. And having seen and spoken with a cloud of witnesses abroad, as well as in my own country I cannot doubt but that believers who wait and pray for it, will find these scriptures fulfilled in themselves. My hope is that they will be fulfilled in me; I build on *Christ* the rock of ages: on his sure mercies described in his word; and on his promises, all which I know are yea, and Amen. Those who have not yet received joy in the Holy Ghost, the love of God, and the *plerophory* of faith (any, or all of which I take to be the witness of the Spirit with our spirit, that we are the sons of God) I believe to be Christians in that imperfect sense wherein I call myself such; and I exhort them to pray, that God would give them also, *To rejoice in hope of the glory of*

of God, and to feel his love shed abroad in their hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto them.

“ On men I built not, neither on *Mutilda Chipman's* word, whom I have not talked with five minutes in my life ; nor on any thing peculiar in the weak well-meant relation of *William Hervey*, who yet is a serious humble acting Christian. But have you built nothing on these ? Yes ; I find them more or less, in almost every letter you have written on the subject. Yet were all that has been said on, *Visions, dreams, and balls of fire*, to be fairly proposed in syllogisms, I believe it would not prove a jot more on one, than on the other side of the question.

“ O brother, would to God you would leave disputing concerning the things which you know not, if indeed you know them not, and beg of God to fill up what is wanting in you. Why should not you also seek till you receive, *That peace of God which passeth understanding ? Who shall hinder you, notwithstanding the manifold temptations, from rejoicing with joy unspeakable, by reason of glory ?* Amen ! Lord Jesus ! May you and all who are near of kin to you, if you have it not already, feel his love shed abroad in your hearts, by his Spirit which dwelleth in you, and be sealed with the Holy Spirit of Promise, which is the earnest of your inheritance.”

November 15. Mr. *Samuel Wesley* answered, “ I have many remarks to make on your letter, but do not care to fight in the dark, or run my head against a stone wall. You need fear no controversy with me, unless you hold it worth while to remove these three doubts.—1. Whether you will own, or disown in terms, the necessity of a sensible information from God of pardon ? If you disown it, the matter is over as to you ; if you own it, then, 2. Whether you will not think  
me

me distracted, to oppose you with the most infallible of all proofs, inward feeling in yourself, and positive evidence in your friends, which I myself produce neither. 3. Whether you will release me from the horns of your dilemma, that I must either talk without knowledge like a fool, or against it like a knave? I conceive neither part strikes—for a man may reasonably argue against what he never felt, and may honestly deny what he has felt, to be necessary to others.

“ You build nothing on tales, but I do. I see what is manifestly built upon them; if you disclaim it, and warn poor shallow pates of their folly and danger, so much the better. They are counted signs or tokens, means or conveyances, proofs or evidences, of the sensible information, &c. calculated to turn fools into madmen, and put them without a jest, into the condition of Oliver’s porter.—When I hear visions, &c. reprov’d, discouraged, and ceased among the new brotherhood, I shall then say no more of them; but till then, I will use my utmost strength which God shall give me, to expose these bad branches of a bad root.

“ Such doctrine as encourages, and abets, spiritual fire-balls, apparitions of the Father, &c. &c. is delusive and dangerous: but the sensible information, &c. is such; *ergo*—I mention not this to enter into any dispute with you, for you seem to disapprove, though not expressly to disclaim them; but to convince you I am not out of my way, though encountering of wind-mills.”

This letter appears to be full of fallacy. To give one instance. Mr. *J. Wesley* had said, the witness of the Spirit was the common privilege of believers: that he considered, joy in the Holy Ghost, the love of God,

God, and the *plerophory* of faith, as the witness of the Spirit with our spirit, that we are the sons of God : that the whole of what had been said on “ Visions, dreams, and ball of fire,” could not, in his opinion, either prove or disprove the point in question between them ; that is, vision, dreams, and balls of fire, were totally foreign to the witness of the Spirit, for which he was contending. But his brother *Samuel* changes the term *witness*, and substitutes for it, *sensible information*, by which he means, something visible to the sight, or existing in the fancy, and then indeed visions, &c. were connected with the question ; and he reasons on this supposition. But this was a mere sophism, of which Mr. *J. Wesley* would probably have taken notice had he been writing to a stranger, or had he foreseen that any one would print the letters after his death. November 30. He replied to his brother *Samuel*, and tells him, “ I believe every Christian who has not yet received it, ought to pray for, ‘ The witness of God’s Spirit with his spirit, that he is a child of God ! In being a child of God, the pardon of his sins is included : therefore I believe the the Spirit of God will witness this also. That this witness is from God, the very terms imply ; and this witness I believe is necessary for my salvation. How far invincible ignorance may excuse others, I know not,

“ But this you say, is delusive and dangerous, ‘ Because it encourages and abets, idle visions and dreams.’ It ‘ encourages’—True ; accidentally, but not essentially. And that it does this accidentally, or that weak minds may pervert it to an ill use, is no reasonable objection against it : for so they may pervert every truth in the oracles of God ; more especially that dangerous doctrine of *Joel* cited by *St. Peter* ; *It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will*  
pour

*pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.*—Such visions indeed, as you mention are given up: does it follow that visions and dreams in general, are bad branches of a bad root? God forbid. This would prove more than you desire.”

December 13. Mr. *Samuel Wesley* again wrote to his brother. He now discussed the matter a little more soberly, and kept closer to the point in debate. He says, “That you were not a Christian before May, in your sense, any one may allow: but have you ever since continued sinless?—‘Sin has not the dominion!’ Do you never then fall? Or, do you mean no more, than that you are free from presumptuous sins? If the former, I deny it: if the latter, who disputes? Your misapplication of the witness of the Spirit is so thoroughly cleared by Bishop *Bull*, that I shall not hold a candle to the sun. What portion of love, joy, &c. God may please to bestow on Christians, is in his hand, not our’s. Those texts you quote no more prove them generally necessary, in what you call your imperfect state, than, *rejoice in the Lord always*, contradicts *Blessed are they that mourn*—I had much more to say, but it will keep, if ever it should be proper.”

In the beginning of the present year, 1739, Mr. *J. Wesley* replied to his brother. A part of this letter we have not been able to find.\* In what remains, he

Mr. *Wesley*’s papers have been separated, and parts of them selected several time, for the *Magazines*, and for his other publications: for some years also, they have been so much exposed to various persons, that probably some have been lost. On these accounts they are, as might be expected, much mangled, and on many subjects rendered very defective.

he tells him, "I think Bishop *Bull's* sermon on the witness of the Spirit (against the witness of the Spirit it should rather be entitled) is full of gross perversions of Scripture; and manifest contradictions both to Scripture and experience. I find more persons, day by day, who experience a clear evidence of their being in a state of salvation. But I never said this continues equally clear in all, as long as they continue in a state of salvation. Some indeed have testified, and the whole tenor of their life made their testimony unexceptionable, that, from that hour they have felt no agonies at all, no anxious fears, no sense of dereliction. Others have.

" But I much fear, we begin our dispute at the wrong end. I fear you *dissent* from the fundamental Articles of the church of *England*. I know Bishop *Bull* does—I doubt you do not hold justification by faith alone: if not, neither do you hold, what our Articles teach concerning the extent and guilt of original sin: neither do you feel yourself a lost sinner; and if we begin not here, we are building on the sand. O may the God of love, if my sister or you are otherwise minded, reveal even this unto you."

" *Tiverton, March 26.*

" DEAR JACK,

" I might as well have wrote immediately after your last, as now, for any new information that I expected from my mother: and I might as well let it alone at present, for any effect it will have, farther than shewing you, I neither despise you on the one hand, nor am angry with you on the other.—I am persuaded you will hardly see me face to face in this world, though somewhat nearer than Count *Zinzendorf*. *Charles* has at last told me in terms—He believes no  
more

more of dreams and visions than I do. Had you said so, I believe I should hardly have spent any time upon them; though I find others credit them, whatever you may do.—You make two degrees or kinds of assurance: that neither of them are necessary to a state of salvation, I prove thus:

“ 1. Because multitudes are saved without either. These are of three sorts, 1. All infants baptised, who die before actual sin! 2. All persons of a melancholy and gloomy constitution; who, without a miracle, cannot be changed. 3. All penitents, who live a good life after their recovery, and yet never attain to their first state.

“ 2. The lowest assurance is an impression from God who is infallible, that heaven shall be actually enjoyed by the person to whom it is made. How is this consistent with fears of miscarriage; with deep sorrow, and going on the way weeping? How can any doubt, after such certificate? If they can, then here is an assurance whereby the person, who has it is not sure.

“ 3. If this be essential to a state of salvation, it is utterly impossible any should fall from that state finally; since, how can any thing be more fixed, than what Truth and Power has said he will perform? Unless you will say of the matter here, as I observed of the person, that there may be assurance wherein the thing itself is not certain. We join in love.—I am your affectionate friend and brother,

“ S. WESLEY.”

April 4. Mr. *John Wesley* replied from *Bristol*.

“ I rejoice greatly (says he) at the temper with which you now write, and trust there is not only mildness, but love in your heart. If so, you shall know of this



*this doctrine, whether it be of God: though perhaps not by my ministry.*

“ To this hour you have pursued an *Ignoratio elenchi*. Your assurance and mine are as different, as light from darkness. I mean, an assurance that I am now in a state of salvation; you, an assurance that I shall persevere therein. The very definition of the term cuts off your second and third observation. As to the first I would take notice; 1. No kind of assurance, that I know, or of faith, or repentance, is essential to their salvation; who die infants. 2. I believe God is ready to give all true penitents, who fly to his grace in *Christ*, a fuller sense of pardon than they had before they fell. I know this to be true of several; whether these are exempt cases I know not. 3. Persons that were of a melancholy and gloomy constitution, even to some degree of madness, I have known in a moment brought (let it be called a miracle, I quarrel not) into a state of firm and lasting peace and joy.

“ My dear brother, the whole question turns chiefly, if not wholly, on matter of fact. You deny, that God does now work these effects: at least, that he works them in such a manner. I affirm both, because I have heard those facts with my ears, and seen them with my eyes. I have seen, as far as it can be seen, very many persons changed in a moment, from the spirit of horror, fear, and despair, to the spirit of hope, joy, peace; and from sinful desires, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, an eye and ear witness.—This I know, several persons in whom this great change from the power of Satan unto God, was wrought either in sleep, or during a strong representation to the  
eye

*eye of their minds of Christ, either on the cross, or in glory. This is the fact. Let any judge of it as they please.* But that such a change was then wrought, appears, not from their shedding tears only, or sighing, or singing psalms, but from the whole tenor of their life, till then many ways wicked; from that time holy, just, and good.

“ I will shew you him that was a lion till then, and is now a lamb : he that was a drunkard, but now exemplarily sober : the whoremonger that was, who now abhors the very lusts of the flesh. These are my living arguments for what I assert, that God now as aforetime, gives remission of sins and the gifts of the Holy Ghost ; which may be called visions.”

April 16. Mr. *Samuel Wesley* rejoined. “ I find brevity has made me obscure. I argue against assurance in your, or any sense, as part of the gospel-covenant ; because many are saved without it—you own you cannot deny exempt cases, which is giving up the dispute. *Your assurance*, being a clear impression of God upon the soul, I say must be perpetual—must be irreversible. Else it is not assurance from God, infallible and omnipotent.—You say the cross is strongly represented to the eye of the mind.—Do these words signify in plain *English*, *the fancy* ? Inward eyes, ears, and feelings, are nothing to other people. I am heartily sorry such alloy should be found among so much piety.”

We now see this controversy reduced to two points ; *assurance* itself, and the manner of receiving it. Mr. *John Wesley* still maintained his former positions, and, May 10, tells his brother, “ The gospel promises to you and me, and to our children, and to all that are afar off, even as many of those whom the Lord our God shall call, as are not disobedient to the

heavenly vision, *The witness of God's Spirit with their spirit, that they are the children of God*: that they are now, at this hour, all accepted in the beloved: but it witnesses *not, they always shall be*. It is an assurance of *present* salvation only; therefore, not necessarily perpetual, neither irreversible.

"I am one of many witnesses of this matter of fact, that God does now make good this his promise daily, very frequently during a representation (how made I know not, but not to the outward eye) of Christ, either hanging on the cross, or standing on the right hand of God. This I know to be of God, because from that hour the person so affected is a new creature, both as to his inward temper and outward life. Old things are passed away; and all things become new."

Mr. *Wesley* did not remember, that after this time he received any letter from his brother. But there is one in Dr. *Priestley's* collection, signed *Samuel Wesley*, and addressed to his brother *John*; in which he tells him, "You yourself doubted at first, and inquired, and examined about the extacies; the matter therefore, is not so plain as motion to a man walking. But I have my own reason, as well as your own authority, against the exceeding clearness of divine interposition there. Your followers fall into agonies. I confess it. They are free from them, after you have prayed over them. Granted. They say it is God's doing. I own they say so. Dear brother, Where is your ocular demonstration? Where, indeed, the rational proof? Their living well afterwards may be a probable and sufficient argument, that they believe in themselves; but it goes no further."

Upon a review of the whole of this controversy, we may safely pronounce that the doctrine of assurance

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rance is in no respect invalidated, or rendered doubtful by any thing Mr. *Samuel Wesley* has said against it.— But the subject will be further considered in reviewing Mr. *Wesley's* doctrines.—Mr. *John Wesley* affirmed, that he had known several persons, who had received this assurance of the pardon of sins, in a kind of vision or dream; but his brother's objections against the possibility of his knowing this, are in general convincing and satisfactory. Indeed there could be no evidence of this, but their own testimony; which, if convinced of their sincerity, Mr. *Wesley* was always much disposed to believe. It is true, he built no fundamental doctrine of the gospel, on the testimony persons gave of their own experience; but some of his opinions in matters of less importance, and in which he appeared most singular, were chiefly supported by such kind of evidence, which the goodness of his own mind disposed him to receive as sufficient proof.

It is observable in the course of this dispute, that Mr. *Samuel Wesley's* mind was much softened towards his brother; and the opposition he at first made against his brother's doctrine, and manner of proceeding, became less violent. In the last letter he wrote, he says not a word against assurance, though he does against the *manner* in which it was said persons had received it. This seems to imply, that he no longer opposed the thing itself, when properly explained and guarded. At the bottom of the last letter but one, he addressed his brother in these words, “Τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀδελφε, προσεύχεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν. κ. τ. λ.\* Finally, brethren pray ye both for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you. See 2 Thess. iii. 1. A strange address  
I 2 this,

\* It is supposed he refers to his two brothers, John and Charles, as he has put the verb and noun in the dual number.

this, if he believed his two brothers were preaching false and dangerous doctrines! The truth seems to be, that he thought more favourably of their doctrines and methods of proceeding, when he wrote these words than he did when they first set out.—After persevering fifty years, through all kinds of difficulty, the two brothers extorted from the public, the same favourable opinion.

Some years after this period, Mr. *Wesley* expressed his opinion more fully concerning those agitations, &c. which attended the conviction of sin under his sermons this summer at *Bristol*. He supposes, it is easy to account for them either on principles of reason, or scripture. “First, (says he) on principles of reason. For how easy is it to suppose, that a strong, lively, and sudden apprehension of the heinousness of sin, the wrath of God, and the bitter pains of eternal death, should affect the body as well as the soul, during the present laws of vital union; should interrupt or disturb the ordinary circulations, and put nature out of its course. Yea, we may question, whether while this union subsists, it be possible for the mind to be affected in so violent a degree, without some or other of those bodily symptoms following?

“It is likewise easy to account for these things on principles of scripture. For when we take a view of them in this light, we are to add to the consideration of natural causes, the agency of those spirits who still excel in strength, and as far as they have leave from God, will not fail to torment whom they cannot destroy; to *tear* those that are coming to Christ. It is also remarkable, that there is plain scripture precedent of every symptom which has lately appeared. So that we cannot allow even the conviction attended with these

these to be *madness*, without giving up both reason and scripture.”\*

After eight or nine days, absence, in which he came to *London*, Mr. *Wesley* returned to *Bristol*, and continued his labours with increasing success. He was now attacked by *friends* as well as enemies; for his irregularity. To a friend † who had expostulated with him on this subject, he wrote his thoughts in a letter, of which the following is an extract. “As to your advice, that I should settle in College, I have no business there, having now no office, and no pupils. And whether the other branch of your proposal be expedient, viz. to accept of a cure of souls, it will be time enough to consider when one is offered to me. But in the mean time, you think, I ought to be still; because otherwise I should invade another’s office.— You accordingly ask, how it is that I assemble Christians who are none of my charge, to sing psalms, and pray, and hear the scriptures expounded: and think it hard to justify doing this, in other men’s parishes, upon Catholic principles?

“Permit me to speak plainly. If by *Catholic* principles, you mean any other than *spiritual*, they weigh nothing with me: I allow no other rule, whether of faith or practice, than the holy scriptures. But on scriptural principles, I do not think it hard to justify whatever I do. God in scripture commands me, according to my power, to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous. Man forbids me to do this, in another’s parish; that is, in effect, not to do it at all; seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall. Whom then shall I hear?

God

\* *Wesley’s Works*, vol. xiv. page 323.

† The late *James Hervey*, who had been his pupil; and was the author of *Theron and Aspasio*; *Meditations*, &c. &c.

God or man? *If it be just to obey man rather than God, judge you. A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the gospel.* But where shall I preach it upon the principles you mention?—Not in any of the christian parts, at least, of the habitable earth. For all these are, after a sort, divided into parishes.—Suffer me to tell you my principles in this matter. I look upon *all the world as my parish*; thus far I mean, that in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear, the glad-tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to: and sure I am, that his blessing attends it. Great encouragement have I therefore, to be faithful in fulfilling the work he hath given me to do. His servant I am, and as such am employed according to the plain direction of his word, *as I have opportunity, doing good to all men.* And his providence clearly concurs with his word; which has disengaged me from all things else, that I might singly attend on this very thing, *and go about doing good.*—We have here a specimen of the manner in which Mr. *Wesley* reasoned, to satisfy himself that his conduct was justifiable before God and man. His arguments are taken from the obligation laid upon him to preach the gospel, the necessity of his situation, and the success of his labours. It is evident through the whole of his history, that, in addition to the two first considerations, the success of his labours in diffusing knowledge among the people, and in reforming their manners, bore down all objections in his own mind, against the irregularity of his proceedings.

About the middle of August, Mr. *Wesley* had a conversation with the Bishop of *Bristol*, on *Justi-*  
*fication*

*fication by faith alone; a part of which has been preserved.*

*Bishop.* "Why, Sir, our faith itself is a good work, it is a virtuous temper of mind."

*Wesley.* "My Lord, whatever faith is, our church asserts, we are justified by faith alone. But how it can be called a good work, I see not: it is the gift of God; and a gift that presupposes nothing in us, but sin and misery."

*B.* "How, Sir! Then you make God a tyrannical Being, if he justifies some without any goodness in them preceding, and does not justify all. If these are not justified on account of some moral goodness in them, why are not those justified too?"

*W.* "Because, my Lord, they resist his Spirit; because they will not come to him that they may have life; because they suffer him not, to work in them both to will and to do. They cannot be saved, because they will not believe."

*B.* "Sir, what do you mean by faith?"

*W.* "My Lord; by justifying faith I mean, a conviction wrought in a man by the Holy Ghost, that *Christ* hath loved *him*, and given himself for *him*, and that through *Christ*, *his* sins are forgiven."

*B.* "I believe some good men have this, but not all. But how do you prove this to be the justifying faith taught by our church?"

*W.* "My Lord, from her Homily on Salvation, where she describes it thus; *A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour God.*"

*B.* "Why, Sir, this is quite another thing."

*W.* "My Lord, I conceive it to be the very same."

*B.* "Mr.



*B.* “ *Mr. Wesley*, I will deal plainly with you. I once thought you, and *Mr. Whitefield*, well-meaning men; but I cannot think so now. For I have heard more of you: matters of fact, Sir. And *Mr. Whitefield* says in his Journal, ‘ There are promises still to be fulfilled in me.’ Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing !”

*W.* “ My Lord, for what *Mr. Whitefield* says, *Mr. Whitefield*, and not I, is accountable. I pretend to no extraordinary revelations, or gifts of the Holy Ghost: none but what every Christian may receive, and ought to expect and pray for. But I do not wonder your lordship has heard facts asserted, which if true, would prove the contrary: nor do I wonder, that your lordship, believing them true, should alter the opinion you once had of me. A quarter of an hour I spent with your lordship before, and about an hour now: and perhaps you have never conversed one other hour with any one who spake in my favour. But how many with those who spake on the other side! so that your lordship could not but think as you do.—But pray, my Lord, what are those facts you have heard ?”

*B.* “ I hear you administer the sacrament in your societies.”

*W.* “ My Lord, I never did yet, and I believe never shall.”

*B.* “ I hear too, many people fall into fits in your societies, and that you pray over them.”

*W.* “ I do so, my Lord, when any shew by strong cries and tears, that their soul is in deep anguish; I frequently pray to God, to deliver them from it, and our prayer is often heard in that hour.”

*B.* “ Very

B. "Very extraordinary indeed! Well, Sir, since you ask my advice, I will give it you very freely. You have no business here. You are not commissioned to preach in this diocese. Therefore, I advise you to go hence."

W. "My Lord, my business on earth is, to do what good I can. Wherever therefore, I think I can do most good, there must I stay, so long as I think so. At present I think I can do most good here; therefore, here I stay.

"As to my preaching here, a dispensation of the gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the gospel, wherever I am in the habitable world. Your lordship knows, being ordained a Priest, by the commission I then received, I am a Priest of the church universal: and being ordained as Fellow of a College, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God, in any part of the church of England. I do not therefore conceive, that in preaching here by this commission, I break any human law. When I am convinced I do, then it will be time to ask, 'Shall I obey God or man?' But if I should be convinced in the mean while, that I could advance the glory of God, and the salvation of souls in any other place, more than in *Bristol*; in that hour, by God's help, I will go hence; which till then I may not do."

Methodism now began to make a rapid progress: societies were formed, not only in *London*, and *Bristol*, but in many adjacent places; and some even at a considerable distance. The labourers as yet were few, but, believing they were engaged in the cause of God against ignorance and profaneness which overspread the land, they were indefatigable, scarcely  
giving

giving themselves any rest day or night. The effects of their preaching made much noise, which at length roused some of the sleeping watchmen of *Israel*; not indeed to inquire after the truth, and amend their ways, but to crush these irregular proceedings, that they might quietly sleep again. These opponents, however, had more zeal against Methodism, than knowledge of it. They attacked it with nothing but idle stories, misrepresentations of facts, and gross falsehoods. They retailed these from pulpits, and published them from the press, with little regard to *moderation, charity, or even decency*. This brought more disgrace upon themselves, than on the Methodists; who finding they were assailed only with such kind of weapons, conceived a higher opinion of the cause in which they were engaged, and profited by the attack. A pious and moderate Clergyman, perceiving that such attacks could do no good to their cause, published a few rules to direct the assailants in their future attempts to stop the increasing innovations, in a discourse concerning enthusiasm, or religious delusion. “A minister of our church, says he, who may look upon it as his duty to warn his *parishioners*, or an *author* who may think it necessary to caution his readers, against *such preachers*, or their doctrine (that is, enthusiastic preachers, such as he took the *Methodist* preachers to be) ought to be very careful to act with a *christian spirit*, and to advance nothing but with *temper, charity, and truth*.—Perhaps the following rules may be proper to be observed by them.

1. “Not to *blame* persons for doing that now, which scripture records *holy men* of old to have practised; lest, had they lived in those times they should have condemned them also.

2. “Not

2. “ Not to censure men in *holy orders*, for teaching the same doctrines which are taught in the *scriptures*, and by *our church*; lest they should ignorantly censure, what they profess to defend.

3. “ Not to censure any professed *members* of our church, who live *good lives*, for resorting to *religious assemblies* in private houses, to perform in society acts of *divine worship*; when the same seems to have been practised by the primitive Christians; and when alas! there are so many parishes, where a person *piously* disposed, has no opportunity of joining in the public service of our church, more than *one hour and an half* in a week.

4. “ Not to condemn those who are constant attendants on the *communion* and *service* of our church, if they sometimes use *other prayers* in private assemblies: since the *best divines* of our church have composed and published many *prayers* that have not the sanction of public authority; which implies a general consent, that our church has not made provision for every private occasion.

5. “ Not to establish the power of *working miracles*, as the great criterion of a divine mission; when scripture teaches us, that the agreement of doctrines with truth, as taught in those scriptures, is the only infallible rule.

6. “ Not to drive any away from our church, by opprobriously calling them *Dissenters*, or treating them as such, so long as they keep to her *communion*.

7. “ Not lightly to take up with *silly stories* that may be propagated, to the discredit of persons of a general good character.

“ I do not lay down, (says he) these *negative rules* so much for the sake of any persons whom the unobservance of them would immediately injure, as for

for our *church* and her professed *defenders*. For churchmen, however *well-meaning*, would lay themselves open to censure, and might do her *irretrievable damage*, by a behaviour contrary to them.

Mr. *Wesley* often wished that they, who either preached or wrote against him, would seriously attend to these rules ; but these rules were too candid and liberal for the common herd of opposers. Some attacked him with arguments, wretchedly misapplied ; others with ridicule, as the more easy method. Among the latter were some even of his own family. His eldest sister *Emelia*, had always been accustomed to correspond with him, and being some years older than he, and of a strong understanding, had taken great liberty in expressing approbation or disapprobation of any part of his conduct. She wrote to him about this time in very ill temper, abused the *Methodists* as bad people, and told him she understood he could work miracles, cast out devils, &c. that she had the devil of poverty in her pocket, and should be much obliged if he would cast him out.—Mr. *Wesley* knew in whom he had believed, and in the midst of abuse poured out upon him by friends and enemies, went on his way as if he heard not.

After a short visit to *London*, he again returned to *Bristol*. October 15. Upon a pressing invitation he set out for *Wales*. The churches were here also shut against him, as in *England*, and he preached in private houses, or in the open air to a willing people. —“ I have seen (says he) no part of *England* so pleasant for sixty or seventy miles together, as those parts of *Wales* I have been in : and most of the inhabitants are indeed *ripe for the gospel*. I mean, if the expression seems strange, they are *earnestly desirous* of being instructed in it ; and as *utterly ignorant*

rant of it they are, as any *Creek* or *Cherokee Indians*. I do not mean, they are ignorant of the name of *Christ*: many of them can say both the Lord's prayer, and the belief. Nay and some, all the catechism: but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of gospel salvation, or of that faith whereby alone we can be saved, than *Chicali*, or *Tomo Chachi*. Now what spirit is he of, who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of *Howell Harris*, or an *itinerant* preacher. The word did not fall to the ground. Many *repented and believed the gospel*. And some joined together, to strengthen each others hands in God, and to provoke one another to love and to good works."

November 3. Mr. *Wesley* came to *London*, where the society was greatly divided, by means of some new notions the *Moravian* preachers had introduced among them, concerning *degrees* of faith, and the use of the *ordinances*, as means of grace. On the 9th, he tells us, "All this week I endeavoured by private conversation, to comfort the feeble-minded, and to bring back the lame which had been turned out of the way, that at length they might be healed.—Sunday, November 11. I preached at eight, to five or six thousand, on the spirit of bondage, and the spirit of adoption: and at five in the evening to seven or eight thousand, in the place which had been the King's *Foundry* for cannon. O hasten thou the time, when nation shall not rise up against nation, neither shall they know war any more."—This is the first time we find any mention of the *Foundry*, and several months before Mr. *Wesley* has mentioned it, in his  
printed

journal. It seems as if he had taken it without consulting the society \*in *Fetter-lane*, the majority of which were now alienated from him ; and as a preparatory step to a final separation from the *Moravian* brethren.

Monday the 12th, he left *London*, without putting an end to the disputes among the people, over whom the rules of the society gave him no authority, and he had, at present, but little influence. In the evening he came to *Wycombe*, where there was a little society ; to whom he explained the parable of the *pharisee* and *publican*. “ Here (says he) we unexpectedly found Mr. *Robson* and *Gambold*: with whom, after much prayer and consultation, we agreed, 1. To meet yearly at *London*, if God permit, on the Eve of Ascension-Day. 2. To fix then, the business to be done the ensuing year: where, when, and by whom? 3. To meet quarterly there, as many as can ; viz. on the second Tuesday in July, October, and January. 4. To send a monthly account to one another, of what God hath done in each of our stations. 5. To enquire whether Mr. *Hall*, *Sympson*, *Rogers*, *Ingham*, *Hutchins*, *Kinchin*, *Stonehouse*, *Cenick*, *Oxlee*, and *Brown*, will join with us herein. 6. To consider, whether there be any others of our spiritual friends, who are able and willing so to do.”—Here we have the first outlines of a plan to unite the ministers together, and to extend their labours to different parts of the kingdom, under such regulations as might give them a mutual dependence on one another. In this sketch, no one assumes an authority over the rest of his brethren: all appear equal. But this plan was never put into execution. When Mr. *Wesley* separated from the *Moravian* brethren, Mr. *Gambold*,  
and

and some others gradually withdrew themselves from him.

November 6. Mr. *Samuel Wesley* died at *Tiverton*, and on the 15th, *John* and *Charles Wesley* set out on a visit to their sister, in her distress. They came to *Tiverton* on the 21st, and the Saturday following accepted an invitation to *Exeter*, where a Mr. D—— the next day desired the use of the pulpit in St. *Mary's* church; which was readily granted both for the morning and afternoon. Mr. *John Wesley* preached on, *The kingdom of God, is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.* After sermon, Dr. W—— told him, “Sir, you must not preach in the afternoon. Not,” said he, “that you preach any false doctrine. I allow, all that you have said is true. And it is the doctrine of the church of *England*. But it is not guarded. It is dangerous. It may lead people into *enthusiasm*, or *despair*.”— “How is this! So far as I can understand it, (observes Dr. *Whitehead*) I think it is more inconsistent with reason, than any thing Mr. *Wesley* ever said in his life. Is it possible, that a knowledge of the TRUTH, especially of the Truths of the gospel, and of the doctrines of the church of *England*, can have a tendency, without some special guard, to lead people into *enthusiasm*, or *despair*? And is it possible, that one who is set for the defence of the gospel and of the church, can assert this? *Enthusiasm*, as the word is commonly used, is so vague a term, that I will not inquire what idea the doctor affixed to it; or whether he introduced it merely for the sound? By *despair*, I suppose he meant a state of mind consequent on *repentance* of past transgressions of the law of God. But can the truths of the gospel, or the doctrines of the church, have any moral influence on the minds of men, without producing in the first instance this sort  
of



of repentance? Or, do they leave men to *despair*, when brought to repent of their sins? Certainly, he who maintains this, is ignorant of the gospel; and instead of propagating it, or defending the church, is, in flat opposition to both, defending the reign of ignorance and sin over the minds of the people."

Mr. *D*—— having requested a short account of what had been done in *Kingswood*, and of the building intended for a school; Mr. *Wesley*, on his return from *Exeter*, wrote to him as follows:

"Few persons have lived long in the West of *England*, who have not heard of the Colliers of *Kingswood*, a people famous from the beginning hitherto, for neither fearing God nor regarding man: so ignorant of the things of God, that they seemed but one remove from the beasts that perish; and therefore utterly without the desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it.

"Many last winter used tauntingly to say of Mr. *Whitefield*, *If he will convert heathens, why does not he go to the Colliers of Kingswood?* In the spring he did so. And as there were thousands who resorted to no place of public worship, he went after them into their own *wilderness*, to seek and save that which was lost. When he was called away, others went into the *highways and hedges*, to compel them to come in. And by the grace of God, their labour was not in vain. The scene is already changed. *Kingswood* does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamour and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of the people are mild, gentle, and easy to be entreated. They do not cry, neither strive, and hardly is their voice heard

*heard in the streets*; or indeed in their own wood; unless when they are at their usual evening diversions, singing praise unto God their Saviour.

“ That their children too might know the things which make for their peace, it was some time since proposed to build a house in *Kingswood*; and after many foreseen and unforeseen difficulties, in June last, the foundation was laid. The ground made choice of was in the middle of the wood, between the *London* and *Bath* roads, not far from that called *Two-Mile-Hill*, about three measured miles from *Bristol*.

“ Here a large room was begun for the school, having four small rooms at either end, for the schoolmasters (and perhaps, if it should please God, some poor children) to lodge in. Two persons are ready to teach, as soon as the house is ready to receive them, the shell of which is nearly finished; so that it is hoped the whole will be completed in spring, or early in the summer.

“ It is true, although the masters require no pay, yet this undertaking is attended with great expence. But let him that *feedeth the young ravens* see to that. He hath the hearts of all men in his hand. If he put it into your heart, or into that of any of your friends, to assist in bringing this work to perfection, in this world look for no recompence; but it shall be remembered in that day when our Lord shall say, *Indasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.*”

• Before the *Methodists* began to preach in *Kingswood*, the *Colliers* were a terror to the whole country round. But the change produced by their preaching, was so great and sudden, as to excite universal attention and admiration. And such was the state of religion and morality at this time throughout the nation, that,

among a vast majority of the people, a similar change in their tempers and principles of action, was not less necessary to make them Christians, though the necessity of it might be less apparent. And what was done in *Kingswood* shews what might have been done every where, had the ministers of the gospel been such men as their office required them to be, and applied themselves to the duties of it with the same diligence, that men are obliged to use in following their temporal affairs ; which certainly is the least that is required of a minister of the gospel. How will they meet Jesus Christ without shame, confusion, and conscious guilt, who have filled the sacred office of instructing the people in the way of salvation, and have suffered them to *perish for lack of knowledge* ? The time will come when such men, of whatever denomination among Christians, will be fully convinced, it had been better for them to have been common porters, than to have occupied the highest pastoral offices in the church of God !

April 1740. The rioters in *Bristol*, who had long disturbed the *Methodists*, being emboldened by impunity, were so increased as to fill, not only the court, but a considerable part of the street. The Mayor sent them an order to disperse : but they set him at defiance. At length he sent several of his officers, who took the ringleaders into custody. The next day they were brought into court, it being the time of the quarter-sessions. There they received a severe reprimand, and the *Methodists* were molested no more.

Disputes still continued in the society at *Fetter-lane*. Mr. *Wesley* had been in *London* several times without being able to put an end to them : and a great majority of the the society were more and more estranged from him. He again came to *London* in the beginning of  
 June,

June, and laboured with them till the 20th of July ; when, finding it was to no purpose, he read a paper, the substance of which was as follows :

“ About nine months ago, certain of you began to speak contrary to the doctrine we had till then received. The sum of what you asserted is this : 1. That there is no such thing as *weak faith* : that there is no justifying faith, where there is ever any doubt or fear ; or where there is not, in the full sense, a new, a clean heart. 2. That a man ought not to use those *ordinances* of God, which our church terms *means of grace*, before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart. 3. You have often affirmed, that *to search the scriptures, to pray, or, to communicate*, before we have this faith, is *to seek salvation by works* ; and till these works are laid aside, no man can receive faith.

“ I believe these assertions to be flatly contrary to the word of God. I have warned you hereof again and again, and besought you to turn back to the law and to the testimony. I have borne with you long, hoping you would turn. But as I find you more and more confirmed in the error of your ways, nothing now remains, but that I should give you up to God. You that are of the same judgment follow me.”—“ I then, (adds Mr. *Wesley*) without saying any thing more, withdrew, as did eighteen or nineteen of the society.”

July 23. “ Our little company met at the *Foundry* instead of *Fetter-lane*. About twenty-five of our brethren God hath given us already, all of whom think and speak the same thing ; seven or eight and forty likewise, of the fifty women that were in band, desired to cast in their lot with us.”

We here see Mr. *Wesley* separating himself from the *Moravian* brethren, by whom he had been instructed in the gospel method of attaining present salvation. The controversy was about the ordinances, as means of grace, &c. He thought the majority in an error, saw they were daily making proselytes, and that the dispute itself was eating out the good which had been done among them. He therefore thought it no schism, or breach of charity to depart from them, and divide the society, as a means of preserving the rest.—But Mr. *Wesley*, did not charge the whole body of the *Moravians*, with the notions above mentioned, but *Molther* in particular, who had occasioned the disputes. *Peter Bohler*, however, many years after, in a private letter, denied that *Molther* ever held the opinions Mr. *Wesley* attributed to him, and insisted that he must either have misunderstood, or misrepresented him. But it is not probable that Mr. *Wesley* either misunderstood or misrepresented him, as Mr. *Charles Wesley* mentions the same things in his private journal. It is more likely that *Molther* was convinced of his error before he returned to Germany.

Mr. *Wesley* still retained a love for the brethren, which he expressed in an address to the *Moravian* church, prefixed to the journal, in which the difference mentioned above is detailed at length. In this address he tells them, “What unites my heart to you is, the excellency, in many respects, of the doctrine taught among you: your laying the true foundation, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself*: your declaring the free grace of God, the cause, and faith the condition of justification: your bearing witness to those great fruits of faith, *righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*; and that sure mark thereof,

thereof, *He that is born of God, doth not commit sin.*

“ I magnify the grace of God which is in many among you, enabling you to love him who hath first loved us ; teaching you, in whatsoever state you are, therewith to be content : causing you to trample under foot the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life : and above all, giving you to love one another, in a manner the world knoweth not of.

“ I love and esteem you for your excellent discipline, scarce inferior to that of the apostolic age : for your due subordination of officers, every one knowing and keeping his proper rank ; for the exact division of the people under your charge, so that each may be fed with food convenient for them ; for your care, that all who are employed in the service of the church, should frequently and freely confer together ; and, in consequence thereof, your exact and seasonable knowledge of the state of every member, and your ready distribution either of spiritual or temporal relief, as every man hath need.”

Hitherto Mr. *Whitefield* had laboured in union and harmony with Mr. *Wesley*, and his brother. They preached in the same pulpits, and had only one common design, to promote christian knowledge, and a holy conversation among the people, without entering into the discussion of particular opinions. But about this time Mr. *Wesley* printed a sermon against the *Calvinistic* notion of predestination, and sent a copy to Commissary *Garden*, at *Charlestown*, where Mr. *Whitefield* met with it. He had already embraced that opinion ; and though the subject was treated in that sermon, in a general way, without naming, or pointing at any individual, yet he found himself hurt, that

Mr.

Mr. *Wesley* should bring forward the controversy, and publicly oppose an opinion which he believed to be agreeable to the word of God. On his passage to *England*, he wrote to Mr. *Charles Wesley*, February 1, 1741, expostulating with him and his brother on the subject. He says, "My dear, dear brethren, why did you throw out the bone of contention? Why did you print that sermon against predestination? Why did you in particular, my dear brother *Charles*, affix your hymn, and join in putting out your late hymn-book? How can you say, you will not dispute with me about election, and yet print such hymns, and your brother send his sermon over against election, to Mr. *Garden*, and others in *America*?—Do not you think, my dear brethren, I must be as much concerned for truth, or what I think truth, as you? God is my judge, I always was, and hope I always shall be desirous that you may be preferred before me. But I must preach the gospel of *Christ*, and that I cannot now do, without speaking of election."—He then tells Mr. *Charles*, that in Christmas week he had written an answer to his brother's sermon, "Which, (says he) is now printing at *Charlestown*; another copy I have sent to *Boston*, and another I now bring with me, to print in *London*. If it occasion a strangeness between us, it shall not be my fault. There is nothing in my answer exciting to it, that I know of. O my dear brethren, my heart almost bleeds within me! Methinks I could be willing to tarry here on the waters for ever, rather than come to *England* to oppose you."

Controversy between good men is commonly on some speculative opinion, while they are perfectly at unison on the essential points of religion, and the duties of morality. And the controversy almost always injures

injures the christian temper, much more than it promotes the interests of speculative truth. On this occasion a separation took place between Mr. *Wesley* and Mr. *Whitefield*, so far as to have different places of worship; and some warm and tart expressions dropped from each. But their good opinion of each other's integrity and usefulness, founded on long and intimate acquaintance, could not be injured by such a difference of sentiment; and their mutual affection was only obscured by a cloud, for a season.

Mr. *Whitefield* was the first who visited the Colliers of *Kingswood*, and formed the design of building the school there; and began to make collections for the purpose. But his calls to *America*, would not permit him to prosecute the design, which he therefore transferred to Mr. *Wesley*. Being now less friendly than before, he was more disposed to find fault with little things, and to misconstrue the bare appearances of others. He wrote a list of things he thought improperly managed. In April Mr. *Wesley* returned him a long answer, part of which is as follows.

“ Would you have me deal plainly with you, my brother? I believe you would: then by the grace God I will.

“ Of many things I find you are not rightly informed: of others you speak what you have not well weighed.

“ The Society room at *Bristol*, you say is adorned. How? Why with a piece of green cloth nailed to the desk; two sconces for eight candles each in the middle; and—nay I know no more. Now which of these can be spared, I know not: nor would I desire either more adorning or less.

“ But lodgings are made for me or my brother. That is, in plain English, there is a little room by the  
the



the school, where I speak to the persons who come to me; and a garret, in which a bed is placed for me. And do you grudge me this? Is this the voice of my brother, my son *Whitefield*?

“ You say further, that the children at *Bristol*, are clothed as well as taught. I am sorry for it; for the cloth is not paid for yet, and was bought without my consent or knowledge.

“ But those of *Kingswood* have been neglected.— This is not so, notwithstanding the heavy debt which lay upon it. One master, and one mistress have been in the house, ever since it was capable of receiving them. A second master has been placed there some months since: and I have long been seeking for two proper mistresses; so that as much has been done, as matters stand, if not more, than I can answer to God or man.

“ Hitherto then, there is no ground for the heavy charge of perverting your design for the poor Colliers. Two years since your design was to build them a school, that their children also might be taught to fear the Lord. To this end you collected some money, more than once: how much I cannot say, till I have my papers. But this I know, it was not near one half of what has been expended on the work. This design you then recommended to me, and I pursued it with all my might, through such a train of difficulties as, I will be bold to say, you have not yet met with in your life. For many months I collected money wherever I was—and began building, though I had not then a quarter of the money requisite to finish. However, taking all the debt upon myself, the creditors were willing to stay: and then it was that I took possession of it in my own name; that is when the foundation was laid; and I immediately made my will,

will, fixing my brother and you to succeed me therein.

“ But it is a poor case, that you and I should be talking thus. Indeed these things ought not to be. It lay in your power to have prevanted all ; and yet to have borne testimony to what you call the truth. If you had disliked my sermon, you might have printed another on the same text, and have answered my proofs, without mentioning my name : This had been fair and friendly.

“ You rank all the maintainers of *universal Redemption*, with *Socinians* themselves. Alas, my brother, do you not know even this, that the *Socinians* allow no redemption at all ? That *Socinus* himself speaks thus, *Tota Redemptio nostra per Christum, metaphora* ? And says expressly, *Christ* did not die as a ransom for any, but only as an example for all mankind ? How easy were it for me to hit many other palpable blots, in that which you call an answer to my sermon ? And how above measure contemptible would you then appear to all impartial men, either of sense or learning ? But I spare you, mine hand shall not be upon you : the Lord be judge between me and thee !—The general tenor both of my public and private exhortations, when I touch thereon at all, as even my enemies know if they would testify, is, spare the young man, even *Absalom*, for my sake.”

Perhaps some may be ready to say, Mr. *Wesley*, in consequence of his age and learning, assumed in this letter, a greater superiority over Mr. *Whitefield*, than was prudent or becoming.—It was not possible, however, that the dust of controversy could long smother the ardent affection which each had for the other. In the latter end of the following year, Mr. *Whitefield* wrote to him as follows : “ I long to hear from you

you, and write this, hoping to have an answer.—I rejoice to hear the Lord blesses your labours.—May you be blessed in bringing souls to *Christ*, more and more! I believe we shall go on best when we only preach the simple gospel, and do not interfere with each other's plan.—Our Lord exceedingly blesses us at the *Tabernacle*. I doubt not but he deals in the same bountiful manner with you.—I was at your letter-day on *Monday*.—Brother *Charles* has been pleased to come and see me twice.—Behold what a happy thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! That the whole christian world may all become of one heart and one mind; and that we in particular, though differing in judgment, may be examples of mutual, fervent, undissembled affection, is the hearty prayer of, Rev. and dear Sir, your most affectionate, though most unworthy younger brother in the kingdom and patience of *Jesus*."

It appears from a letter Mr. *Whitefield* wrote to Mr. *Wesley* about a fortnight after, that he had answered the above, in the same spirit of peace and brotherly-love. "I thank you, (says Mr. *Whitefield*) for your kind answer to my last.—Had it come a few hours sooner I should have read some part of it amongst our other letters.—Dear Sir, who would be troubled with a party spirit? May our Lord make all his children free from it indeed!"

From this time, their mutual regard and friendly intercourse suffered no interruption till Mr. *Whitefield's* death; who says, in his last Will, written with his own hand about six months before he died, "I leave a mourning-ring to my honoured and dear friends, and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. Messrs. *John* and *Charles Wesley*, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and christian affection, notwithstanding

notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine.”\*—When the news of Mr. *Whitefield's* death reached *London*, Mr. *Keen*, one of his executors, recollecting he had often said to him, “If you should die abroad whom shall we get to preach your funeral sermon? Must it be your old friend, the Rev. Mr. *John Wesley*?” And having constantly received for answer, “He is the man;” Mr. *Keen* accordingly waited on Mr. *Wesley*, and engaged him to preach it; which he did, and bore ample testimony to the undissembled piety, the ardent zeal, and the extensive usefulness, of his much loved and honoured friend.†

After Mr. *Wesley* had separated from the *Moravians*, Mr. *Gambold* and some others left him, and became more closely united to the *brethren*: and even his brother *Charles* was at this time wavering. On this occasion Mr. *Wesley* sent him the following letter, dated *London*, April 21. “I am settling, (says he) the regular method of visiting the sick here: eight or ten have offered themselves for the work: who are likely to have full employment; for more and more are taken ill every day. Our Lord will thoroughly purge his floor.

“I rejoice in your speaking your mind freely. O let our love be without dissimulation.—I am not clear, that brother *Maxfield* should not expound at *Greyhound-lane*; nor can I as yet do without him. Our clergymen have increased full as much as the laymen: and that the *Moravians* are other than laymen, I know not.

“As yet I dare in no wise join with the *Moravians*:  
1. Because their whole scheme is *mystical*, not *scriptural*,

\* See *Robert's Life of Whitefield*, page 256.

† Ibid. page 230. Mr. *Whitefield* died in Sept. 1770.

*tural*, refined in every point above what is written, immeasurably beyond the plain doctrines of the gospel. 2. Because there is darkness and closeness in all their behaviour, and guile in almost all their words. 3. Because they not only do not practise, but utterly despise and deny self-denial and the daily cross. 4. Because they, upon principle, conform to the world, in wearing gold or costly apparel. 5. Because they extend christian liberty in this and many other respects, beyond what is warranted by holy writ. 6. Because they are by no means zealous of good works; or at least, only to their own people. And lastly, because they make inward religion swallow up outward in general. For these reasons chiefly I will rather, God being my helper, stand quite alone than join with them. I mean, till I have full assurance that they will spread none of these errors among the little flock committed to my charge.

“ O ! my brother, my soul is grieved for you : the poison is in you : fair words have stolen away your heart.—No *English* man or woman, is like the *Moravians* ! So the matter is come to a fair issue: Five of us did still stand together a few months since : but two are gone to the right hand (*Hutchins* and *Cennick*) and two more to the left (Mr. *Hall*, and you ;) Lord if it be thy gospel which I preach, arise and maintain thine own cause ! ”

Mr. *Maxfield* was a layman, and hence we see laymen were already employed by Mr. *Wesley* in the work. He was remarkably useful, and excited the astonishment of those who heard him. The late Countess Dowager of *Huntingdon*, was at this time, and for many years after, exceedingly attached to Mr. *Wesley*, and frequently wrote to him. She heard Mr. *Maxfield* expound, and in a letter to Mr. *Wesley* speaks.

speaks thus of him : “ I never mentioned to you, that I have seen *Maxfield*. He is one of the greatest instances of God’s peculiar favour, that I know.—He has raised from the stones, one to sit among the princes of his people.—He is my astonishment.—How is God’s power shewn in weakness. You can have no idea, what an attachment I have to him. He is highly favoured of the Lord. The first time I made him expound, expecting little from him, I sat over against him, and thought, what a power of God must be with him, to make me give any attention to him. But before he had gone over one fifth part, any one that had seen me, would have thought I had been made of wood or stone ; so quite immoveable I both felt and looked. His power in prayer is very extraordinary.—To deal plainly, I could either talk or write for an hour about him.—The society goes on well here.—Live assured of the most faithful and sincere friendship of your unworthy sister in *Christ Jesus*.”

From this time the number of laymen employed, gradually increased, in proportion to the increase of the societies and the want of preachers; the clergy generally standing at a distance from a plan of such apparent irregularity, and so much labour.

In June, Mr. *Wesley* took a journey as far as *Nottingham*, where he preached at the market-place, to an immense multitude of people. He set out for *London*, and read over in the way *Luther’s* Comment on the Epistle to the *Galatians*. He passes a most severe sentence on *Luther*, for decrying *Reason*, right or wrong, as an enemy to the gospel of *Christ* ; and for speaking *blasphemously* of good works, and the law of God. The severity of this sentence perhaps arose from a misconception of the scope and design of *Luther’s* words. That *Luther*, sometimes spake incautiously,

cautiously, and even rashly, we may readily admit, and that his words, on such occasions may be easily understood in a sense he did not intend; which was probably the case in the passages to which Mr. *Wesley* refers. But some allowance is to be made for *Luther's*\* situation,

\* *Martin Luther*, the celebrated German reformer. was born in *Saxony*, in 1483. He studied at *Erford*, being designed for a civilian. But an awful catastrophe made such an impression on his mind, that he resolved to retire from the world. As he was walking in the fields with a fellow student, they were struck by lightning, *Luther* to the ground, and his companion dead by his side. He then entered into the order of *Augustine* hermits at *Erford*. From this place he removed to *Wertemburg*, being appointed by the Elector of *Saxony*, professor of Theology and Philosophy in the university just founded there by that prince. In 1512, he was sent to *Rome*, to plead the cause of some convents of his order, who had quarrelled with their vicar-general: this gave him an opportunity of observing the corruptions of the pontifical court, and the debauched lives of the dignitaries of the church; and probably gave him the first disgust to the Romish ecclesiastical government; especially as he had engaged in the monastic life from motives of genuine piety. Upon his return to *Wertemburg*, it was remarked that he grew unusually pensive, and more austere in his life and conversation: he likewise read and expounded the sacred writings in lectures and sermons; and threw new lights on obscure passages. The minds of his auditors being thus prepared, a favourable occasion soon offered for carrying into execution his grand plan of reform. In 1517, Pope *Leo X.* published his indulgencies. *Albert*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Magdeburgh*, was commissioner for *Germany*, and was to have half the sum raised in that country: *Tetzel*, a *Dominican* friar, was deputed to collect, with others of his order, for *Saxony*; and he carried his zeal so far, as to declare his commission was so extensive, that by purchasing indulgencies, not only all past sins, but those intended in future, were to be forgiven. *Luther* beheld his great success with great concern, and began to preach openly against such vile practices. And thus began the Reformation in *Germany*, which *Luther* carried on with astonishing success, through a train of difficulties and dangers, that, to human reason appeared insuperable. He died in 1546, aged 63. *Luther's* friends and adherents were first called *Protestants* in 1529, at a Diet held at *Spire*, in which several Princes of the *Empire*, and Imperial cities protested against the attempts of the *Romanists* to obtain a decree, that no change should be made in their religion. The *Calvinists* have commonly been called the *Reformed churches*.

situation, the errors he had to oppose, and the provocations he received. He must be more than human, who can walk steadily in the middle path of moderation, while a host of enemies are pushing and goading him on every side.

June 18. Being at *Oxford*, Mr. *Wesley* inquired concerning the exercises previous to the degree of *Bachelor in Divinity*. And though he certainly was well qualified to pass through the various gradations of academical honours, yet he laid aside the thought of proceeding further in them.—Having visited *London*, he was again at *Oxford* in the beginning of July; and on the sixth being in the college-library, “ I took down (says he) by mistake, the works of *Episcopius* ;\* which

\* *Simon Episcopius*, was born at *Amsterdam* in 1583. He was one of the most learned men of the 17th century, and chief supporter of the *Arminian* doctrine. In 1612, he was chosen divinity professor at *Leyden*, in the midst of the *Arminian* controversy ; which, though it had begun in the universities, soon flew to the pulpits, from whence it spread and inflamed the people. In 1610, the year after *Arminius* died, his friends, who had espoused his doctrine, presented a *Remonstrance* to the States of *Holland*, against the violent proceedings of the Calvinists to injure or suppress them. And from this circumstance, they have since been called in *Holland*, *Remonstrants*. In 1617, the King of *Great-Britain* exhorted the States-General of the *United Provinces* to call a Synod to put an end to their differences. This advice was seconded by several of the States ; and accordingly a Synod was appointed to be held the next year at *Dort*. The States of *Holland* having invited *Episcopius* to take his place in it, he went thither accompanied by some *remonstrant* ministers ; but the synod would not allow them to sit as judges, nor to appear in any other capacity than as persons accused, and summoned before them. The *Remonstrants* were condemned, deposed from their functions, and banished their country ! But the times growing more favourable, *Episcopius* returned to *Holland*, and at length was chosen Rector of the college founded by the *Arminians*, at *Amsterdam* ; where he died in 1643.

Some of the foreign divines present at the Synod, afterwards complained, that the *Remonstrants* had been wronged ; that they had been imposed upon, the Moderator and his cabal, who formed a Synod among themselves,



which, on opening, on an account of the Synod of *Dort*, I believed it might be useful to read it through. But what a scene is here disclosed! What a pity it is that the *holy* Synod of *Trent*, and that of *Dort*, did not sit at the same time! Nearly allied as they were, not only as to the *purity of the doctrine*, which each of them established, but also as to the *spirit* wherewith they acted! If the latter did not exceed."

July 15, Mr. *Wesley* reached *Bristol*, and tells us he came just in season; "For (says he) a spirit of enthusiasm was breaking in upon many, who charged their own *imagination*s on the *will of God*, and that, not *written*, but *impressed on their hearts*. If these *impressions* be received as the rule of action, instead of the *written word*, I know nothing so wicked or absurd, but we may fall into, and that without remedy."—We have here full and satisfactory evidence, that Mr. *Wesley* paid no regard to impressions or inward feelings, if they did not accord with the written word, by which alone we must judge of them. His belief on this subject was plainly this; 1. Without experience of present salvation from our sins, the gospel has no saving influence on our hearts: 2.

Such

themselves, and concerted in *private* those things they had a mind to bring to a good issue.—It is evident that the *Dutch* divines were parties concerned, and judges on the trial. What justice or candour could their opponents expect! Synods or Assemblies, that are conducted on such principles as these, are hateful to God, and odious to candid and good men, who fully understand their proceedings.—What is the cause that some men of most denominations, who have been set apart to instruct others in our *subat* holy religion, which teaches us humility, the love of God and man, and a forgiving spirit, should be so much alike, and so much worse than other people, when they have the power of persecuting and distressing those who oppose them, or differ from them in opinion? How highly ought we to esteem the true ministers of *Christ*, who shew a more Christian temper!

2. Such experience can have 'no existence' without inward feeling; that is a consciousness of it: 3. That we must judge of the reality of our experience by the word of God, to which it will answer as face answers to face in a glass, if it be of God; otherwise it is mere imagination, a creature of our own that will deceive us.

The following queries concerning the Methodists, were sent from *Holland* or *Germany* to some person in *England*. The answer to each is in Mr. *Wesley's* hand-writing; and the date prefixed is 1741. But if this be the true date, from the answer to the fourth and fifth query, it must have been very early in this year, before Mr. *Wesley* and Mr. *Whitefield* separated on the doctrine of predestination. However, not being able to ascertain the date exactly, we have referred them to this place.

Quest. 1. Whether the number of the *Methodists* is considerable, among the students and learned men?

Ans. "The number of the *Methodists* is not considerable, among the students and learned men."

2. Whether at *Oxford*, where the *Methodists* first sprung up, there be still many of them among the scholars?

"There are very few of them now left, among the scholars at *Oxford*."

3. Whether they are all of one mind, and whether they have the same principles? Especially,

4. Whether those *Methodists* that are still at *Oxford*, approve of the sentiments and actions of Mr. *Whitefield*, and Messrs. *Wesleys*.

"They are all of the same principles with the church of *England*, as laid down in her Articles and Homilies: and 4. Do accordingly approve of the

sentiments of Mr. *Whitefield*, and Mr. *Wesley*, and of their publishing them elsewhere, since they have been shut out of the churches."

5. How they came to revive those doctrines, hitherto neglected by the clergy of the church of *England*, of predestination, the new birth, and justification by faith alone? And 6. Whether they have the same from the *Moravian brethren*?

"Predestination is not a doctrine taught by the *Methodists*. But they do teach that men must be born again, and that we are saved through faith:" and 6. "The latter of these they learned from some of the *Moravian brethren*; the former by reading the New Testament.

7. Whether they be orthodox\* in other doctrinal points; and whether they lead an unblameable Christian life?

"They openly challenge all that hear them to answer those questions, *Which of you convinceth me of sin?* Or, of teaching any doctrine contrary to the scripture? And the general accusation against them is that they are righteous overmuch.

8. Whether they strictly regulate themselves according to the rule and discipline of the *Moravian brethren*; except that they still keep and observe the outward worship according to the church of *England*?

"They do not regulate themselves according to the discipline of the *Moravians*, but of the *English* church."

9. Whether

\* Some persons have thought this word very *equivocal*, and difficult to be explained. A late celebrated public speaker among the *Friends*, once told his audience at *Warrington*, that he knew not how to explain the word *orthodox*, except by another little word of three syllables, *uppermost*! In this sense the *Methodists* have never yet been *orthodox*; and it is generally supposed there are but few among them who earnestly desire to be so.

9. Whether they do any real good among the common people?

“ Very many of the common people among whom they preach, were profane swearers, and now fear an oath ; were gluttons, or drunkards, and are now temperate ; were whoremongers and are now chaste ; were servants of the Devil, and are now servants of God.”

10. Why the Bishops do not effectually inhibit them, and hinder their field and street preaching ?

“ The Bishops do not inhibit their field and street preaching ; 1. Because there is no law in *England* against it : 2. Because God does not yet suffer them to do it without law.”

11. Whether the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is satisfied with them ; as we are told ?

“ The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is not satisfied with them ; especially since Mr. *Molther*, in the name of the *Moravian* church, told his grace their disapprobation of them ; and in particular of their field preaching.”

12. Whether their private assemblies, or societies are orderly and edifying ?

“ Their private assemblies, and societies are orderly, and many say they find them edifying.”

13. What opinion the Presbyterians, and particularly Dr. *Watts*, has of them ?

“ Most of the Presbyterians, and most of all other denominations, are of opinion, much religion hath made them mad.”

14. Whether there are any *Methodists* among the episcopal clergy of the church of *England* ?

“ Mr. *Whitefield*, *Hutchins*, *Robson*, and the two Messrs. *Wesleys*, and several others are priests of the Episcopal church of *England*.”

The modesty and openness with which Mr. *Wesley*

answered the Queries, is striking and pleasing. His mind seems to have been wholly free from any desire to exaggerate or magnify the things of which he spake.

The labourers as yet being few, Mr. *Wesley* staid but a short time in any one place, being almost continually travelling between *London*, *Bristol*, and *Wales*; the last of which he visited twice in the autumn. In *London*, they had long been disturbed in their places of worship by a riotous mob; but on the last day of this year, Sir *John Ganson* called upon him, and said, "Sir, you have no need to suffer these riotous mobs to molest you, as they have done long. I and all the other *Middlesex* magistrates have orders from above, to do you justice whenever you apply to us." Two or three weeks after they did apply. Justice was done, though not with rigour: and from that time the *Methodists* had peace in *London*.

Feb. 15, 1742. Many met together at *Bristol*, to consult with Mr. *Wesley* concerning a proper method of paying the public debt, contracted by building. Nearly three years before this period, a house had been built here, called the *New Room*; and notwithstanding the subscriptions and public collections made at the time to defray the expence, a large debt remained upon it. And it was now agreed, 1. That every member of the society who was able should contribute a penny a week. 2. That the whole society should be divided into little companies or *Classes*, about twelve in each class: and, 3. That one person in each class, should receive the contribution of the rest, and bring it to the stewards weekly. In March, the same thing was done in *London*, though for a different purpose. "I appointed, says Mr. *Wesley*, several earnest and sensible men to meet me, to whom I shewed the great difficulty I had long found, of knowing the people

people who desired to be under my care. After much discourse, they all agreed, there could be no better way to come to a sure, thorough knowledge of each person, than to divide them into classes like those at *Bristol*, under the inspection of those in whom I could most confide. This was the origin of our classes in *London*, for which I can never sufficiently praise God : the unspeakable usefulness of the institution, having ever since been more and more manifest."

The person appointed to visit and watch over these little companies, or classes was called the *leader* of that class to which he received his appointment. Mr. *Wesley* called the *leaders* together, and desired that each would make a particular enquiry into the behaviour of those he saw weekly. They did so; and many disorderly walkers were detected. Some were turned from the evil of their ways; and some put away from the society. The rest saw it with fear, and rejoiced unto God with reverence. At first the *leaders* visited each person at his own house; but this was soon found inexpedient. It required more time than the leaders had to spare; many persons lived with masters, mitresses, or relations, where they could not be so visited; and where misunderstandings had arisen between persons in the same class, it was more convenient to see them face to face. On these, and some other considerations, it was agreed, that each leader should meet his class altogether, once a week, at a time and place most convenient for the whole. He began and ended the meeting with singing and prayer; and spent about an hour in conversing with those present, one by one. By this means, a more full enquiry was made into the behaviour of every person; advice or reproof was given as need required; misunderstandings were removed, and brotherly love promoted. "It can scarcely

scarcely be conceived, says Mr. *Wesley*, what advantages have been reaped from this little prudential regulation. Many now experienced that Christian fellowship, of which they had not so much as an idea before. They began to *bear one another's burdens*, and *naturally to care for each other's welfare*. and as they had daily a more intimate acquaintance with, so they had a more endeared affection for each other." Mr. *Wesley* further adds, "Upon reflection, I could not but observe, this is the very thing which was from the beginning of Christianity. In the earliest times, those whom God had sent forth *preached the gospel to every creature*. And the *οἱ ἀκούοντες*, the body of hearers, were mostly either *Jews* or *Heathens*. But as soon as any of these were so convinced of the truth, as to forsake sin, and seek the gospel of salvation, they immediately joined them together, took an account of their names, advised them to watch over each other, and met these *κατηχημενοι*, *catechumens*, as they were then called, apart from the great congregation, that they might instruct, rebuke, exhort, and pray with them, and for them, according to their several necessities."

As the people increased and societies were multiplied, Mr. *Wesley* found it necessary to add some further regulations, to ascertain who belonged to the society, and to prevent improper persons from imposing upon him. To every person therefore, of whose seriousness, and good conversation he had no doubt, he gave a *ticket*, on which was printed a short portion of scripture, and on which he wrote the date and the person's name. He who received a *ticket* was by that made a member of the society, and immediately appointed to meet in some one of the classes; and this method of admitting members was adopted throughout the

the whole *Methodist* connexion. These tickets, therefore, or *Tesserae*, as the ancients called them, being of the same force with the *πιστελαι συστατικαι*, *commendatory letters*, mentioned by the Apostle, introduced those who bore them, into fellowship one with another, not only in one place, but in every place where any might happen to come. As they were common to all the members of the societies every where, so a stranger in any place, who held one was immediately received as a brother, and admitted to their private assemblies. But lest any improper person should be suffered to continue in the society, and bring disgrace on the whole body by bad conduct, it was agreed that these tickets should have no force for a longer time than three months. Mr. *Wesley* determined, that, where he could stay for a few days, he would speak with every member of the society once a quarter, and change the tickets; and that the preachers appointed to act as his *assistants*, should every where do the same. By this means the tickets were changed four times in a year; and this was called *visiting the classes*. • Mr. *Wesley* observes, “ By these (tickets) it was easily distinguished, when the society were to meet apart, who were members of it, and who not. These also supplied us with a quiet and inoffensive method of removing any disorderly member, he has no new ticket at the next quarterly visitation, and hereby it is immediately known, that he is no longer of the community.”

April 9. They had the first watch night in *London*. “ We commonly choose, says Mr. *Wesley*, for this solemn service, the Friday night nearest the full moon, either before or after, that those of the congregation who live at a distance may have light to their several homes. The service begins at half an hour past eight, and



and continues till a little after midnight. We have often found a peculiar blessing at these seasons. There is generally a deep awe upon the congregation, perhaps in some measure owing to the silence of the night : particularly in singing the hymn, with which we commonly conclude :

“ Harken to the solemn voice !  
 The awful midnight cry,  
 Waiting souls rejoice, rejoice,  
 And feel the Bridegroom nigh.”

Having received a letter pressing him to go without delay into *Leicestershire*, he set out. “ The next afternoon (says Mr. *Wesley*) I stopt a little at *Newport-Pagnell*, and then rode on ‘till I overtook a serious man, with whom I immediately fell into conversation. He presently gave me to know what his opinions were : therefore I said nothing to contradict them. But that did not content him : he was quite uneasy to know ‘ Whether I held the doctrine of the *decrees*, as he did.’ But I told him over and over, we had better keep to practical things, least we should be angry at one another. And so we did for two miles, till he caught me unawares, and dragged me into the dispute before I knew where I was. He then grew warmer and warmer : told me, I was rotten at heart, and supposed I was one of *John Wesley’s* followers. I told him, No, I am *John Wesley* himself. Upon which he appeared,

“ *Improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem  
 Pressit—*

*As one who had unawares trodden on a snake : and would gladly have run away outright. But being the better mounted*

mounted of the two, I kept close to his side, and endeavoured to shew him his heart, till we came into the street of *Northampton*."

Mr. *Wesley* had now a call to extend his labours further North, than he had hitherto done. *John Nelson*,\* a mason of *Birstal*, in *Yorkshire*, had been in *London* some time, and heard the gospel at the *Foundery*. His understanding was informed, his conscience awakened, and feeling the whole energy of the truths he heard delivered, he received that peace, which the Apostle speaks of, as the fruit of justifying faith. He received *the knowledge of salvation by the remission of his sins*. He had full employment and large wages in *London*, but he found a constant inclination to return to his native place. He did so; and his relations and acquaintance soon began to inquire what he thought of this new faith, which, by means of Mr. *Ingham*, had occasioned much noise and talk in *Yorkshire*. *John* told them point blank, this new faith, as they called it, was the old faith of the gospel: and related to them his own experience. This was soon noised abroad; and more and more came to inquire concerning these strange things. Some put him upon the proof of the great truths such inquiries naturally led him to mention. And thus he was brought unawares to quote, explain, compare, and enforce several parts of scripture. This he did at first, sitting in his house, till the company increased so that the house could not contain them. Then he stood at the door, which he was commonly obliged to do, in the evening, as soon as he came from work. His word was soon made a blessing to the people: many believed his report, and were turned from darkness to light, and

\* The Life of this faithful labourer in God's vineyard, may be had of the printer hereof, price 1s. 7d.

and from the power of sin and Satan unto the living God. Mr. *Ingham* hearing of this came to *Birstal*, inquired into the facts, talked with *John* himself in the closest manner, both touching his knowledge and experience. The result was, he encouraged him to proceed, and invited him to come, as often as convenient, to any of those places where he himself had been, and speak to the people as God should enable him. Things being in this state, *John Nelson*, invited Mr. *Wesley* to come down amongst them; and May 26, he arrived at *Birstal*. Here he found a *Lay-Preacher* who, undeniably, had done much good. Many of the greatest profligates in all the country were now changed. Their blasphemies were turned to praise. The whole town wore a new face: such a change did God work by the artless testimony of one plain man! Mr. *Wesley* was so fully convinced of the great design of a preached gospel, that if sinners were truly converted to God, and a decent order preserved in hearing the word, he thought it a matter of less consequence, whether the instrument of the good done, was a *Layman*, or *regularly* ordained. And if a regularly ordained preacher did no good, and a *Layman* by preaching did; it was easy to judge which was acting most agreeably to the design of the gospel, and most for the benefit of society. It is probable that such reflections as these had arisen in his mind on the fact before him; and his judgment was confirmed by repeated facts of the same kind which occurred. And thus he was induced to make use of the labours of *Laymen*, on a more extensive scale than had hitherto been allowed.

After preaching at *Birstal*, he went forward to *Newcastle upon Tyne*. Having witnessed the success of the gospel among the Colliers at *Kingswood*, he had

had long had a desire to visit those about *Newcastle*, and now accomplished his wish ; at least in part, and made way for future visits. He was not known to any person in *Newcastle* ; and therefore he, and *John Taylor*, who travelled with him, put up at an inn. On walking through the town, after taking some refreshment, he observes, “ I was surprised : so much drunkenness, cursing, and swearing, even from the mouths of little children, do I never remember to have seen and heard before in so short a time. Sunday, May 30. At seven in the morning, he walked down to *Sandgate*, the poorest and most contemptible part of the town, and standing at the end of the street with *John Taylor*, began to sing the hundredth psalm. “ Three or four people, (says he) came out to see what was the matter, who soon increased to four or five hundred. I suppose there might be twelve or fifteen hundred before I had done preaching. to whom I applied those solemn words, *He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities ; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed.*

“ Observing the people when I had done, to stand gaping and staring upon me with the most profound astonishment, I told them, If you desire to know who I am, my name is *John Wesley*. At five in the evening, with God’s help, I design to preach here again.—At five the hill on which I designed to preach, was covered from the top to the bottom. I never saw so large a number of people together, either in *Moorfields*, or at *Kennington-Common*. I knew it was not possible for the one half to hear, although my voice was then strong and clear ; and I stood so as to have them all in view, as they were ranged on the side of the hill. The word God which I set before them

was, *I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely.* After preaching, the poor people were ready to tread me under foot, out of pure love and kindness. I was some time before I could possibly get out of the press. I then went back another way than I came. But several were got to our inn before me; by whom I was vehemently importuned to stay with them, at least a few days: or however, one day more. But I could not consent; having given my word to be at *Birstal*, with God's leave, on Tuesday night."

Monday 31. Mr. *Wesley* left *Newcastle*, and preached at various places as he returned through *Yorkshire*. June 5. He rode for *Epworth*, in *Lincolnshire*; the place of his nativity. "It being many years (says he) since I had been in *Epworth* before, I went to an inn, in the middle of the town, not knowing whether there were any left in it now, who would not be ashamed of my acquaintance. But an old servant of my father, with two or three poor women, presently found me out. I asked her, Do you know any in *Epworth* who are in earnest to be saved? She answered, 'I am by the grace of God; and I know I am saved through faith.' I asked, have you then peace with God? Do you know that he has forgiven your sins? She replied, I thank God, I know it well, and many here can say the same thing."

Sunday 6. A little before the service began, he offered his assistance to Mr. *Ropley* the curate, either by preaching or reading prayers. But this was not accepted. In the afternoon, the church was exceedingly full, a report being spread, that Mr. *Wesley* was to preach. After sermon, *John Taylo* stood in the church-yard, and gave notice, as the people came out,

out, that Mr. *Wesley*, not being permitted to preach in the church, designed to preach there at six o'clock. "Accordingly at six (says he) I came, and found such a congregation as, I believe, *Epworth* never saw before. I stood near the east end of the church, upon my father's tombstone, and cried, *The kingdom of heaven is not meats and drinks; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.*"

On the 9th, he tells us, "I rode over to a neighbouring town, to wait upon a justice of peace, a man of candour and understanding; before whom, I was informed, their angry neighbours had carried a whole waggon-load of these new *heretics*. But when he asked, 'What they had done?' there was a deep silence; for that was a point their conductors had forgot. At length one said, 'Why they pretend to be better than other people: and besides they pray from morning to night.' Mr. *S.* asked, 'But have they done nothing besides?' 'Yes, Sir, said an old man: An't please your worship, they have *converted* my wife. Till she went among them, she had such a tongue! And now she is as quiet as a lamb.' Carry them back, carry them back, replied the justice, and let them convert all the scolds in the town."

On the 13th, Mr. *Wesley* preached for the last time at *Epworth*, during his present visit, and from thence went to *Sheffield*. Here he staid and preached a few days, and then went on to *Donnington-Park*, and found Miss *Cowper*, whom he had called to see in his way to *Yorkshire*, was gone to rest. Here he conversed with Mr. *Simpson*, who had gone amongst the *brethren*. "And of this I am fully persuaded, (says Mr. *Wesley*) that whatever he does, is in the uprightness of his heart. But he is led into a thousand mistakes

mistakes by one wrong principle ; the making *inward impressions* his rule of action, and not the *written word* : which many ignorantly or wickedly, ascribe to the body of the people called *Methodists*.”—Here we may observe, as in an instance before mentioned, Mr. *Wesley* wholly condemns the principle of making *inward impressions* the rule of conduct, independent of, or separate from, the written word of God.

Mr. *Wesley* left *Donnington-Park*, preached at various places in the way, and on the 28th, came to *Bristol*. From hence he visited *Wales*, and afterwards divided his labours chiefly, between *London* and *Bristol*, and some adjacent societies, till the beginning of November, when he set out for the North. On the 13th, he came to *Newcastle*. Here his brother *Charles* had been preaching some weeks before, with great success, and a society was already formed. The next morning Mr. *Wesley* began to preach at five o'clock, a thing unheard of in these parts, till he introduced the practice ; which he did every where, if there was any probability that a few persons could be gathered to hear him. On the 18th, he says, “ I could not but observe, the different manner wherein God is pleased to work in different places. The grace of God flows here, with a wider stream than it did at first either at *Bristol* or *Kingswood*. But it does not sink so deep as it did there. Few are thoroughly convinced of sin, and scarce any can witness, that the Lamb of God has taken away their sins.—Perhaps this judgment of the state of the people, was not founded on the most satisfactory evidence. His brother had been here, who did not encourage *agitations* ; and he had hitherto seen less of them under his preaching, than he had been accustomed to see in other places. But

however this may be, for we do not determine, he formed a different opinion some days after. "I never saw (says he) a work of God in any other place, so evenly and gradually carried on. It continually rises step by step. Not so much seems to be done at any one time, as hath frequently been done at *Bristol* or *London*: but something at every time. It is the same with particular souls. I saw none in the triumph of faith, which has been so common in other places. But the believers go on calm and steady. Let God do as seemeth him good."

Dec. 20. Having obtained a piece of ground, forty yards in length, to build a house for their meetings and public worship, they laid the first stone of the building. It being computed, that such a house as was proposed, could not be finished under seven hundred pounds, many were positive it would never be finished at all. "I was of another mind, (says Mr. *Wesley*) nothing doubting, but as it was begun for God's sake, he would provide what was needful for the finishing of it."—December 30. He took his leave for the present of *Newcastle*, and the towns where he preached in the neighbourhood, and came as far as *Darlington* that night. "What encouragement, (says he) have we to speak for God! At our inn we met an ancient man, who seemed by his conversation, never to have thought whether he had a soul or not. Before we set out, I spoke a few words concerning his cursing and idle conversation. The man appeared quite broken in pieces. The tears started into his eyes: and he acknowledged, with abundance of thanks, his own guilt, and the goodness of God."

In this year, many societies were formed in *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Leicestershire*, *Warwickshire*,



*Warwickshire*, and *Nottinghamshire*, as well as the southern parts of *Yorkshire*, And those in *London*, *Bristol*, and *Kingswood*, were much increased.

January 1, 1743. He reached *Epworth*; and the next day being Sunday, he preached at five in the morning; and again at eight, from his father's tomb-stone. "Many (says he) from the neighbouring towns, asked, if it would not be well, as it was Sacrament-Sunday, for them to receive it? I told them, by all means; but it would be more respectful first to ask Mr. *Romley*, the curate's leave. One did so, in the name of the rest. To whom he said, Pray tell Mr. *Wesley*, I shall not give *him* the sacrament; for he is *not fit*."—It is no wonder, that a mind so wholly divested of christian charity, should be totally destitute of gratitude. This Mr. *Romley* owed his all in this world, to the tender love which Mr. *Wesley's* father had shewn to his father, as well as personally to *himself*.

January 8. He came to *Wednesbury*, in *Staffordshire*, which his brother had already visited. At seven in the evening he preached in the town-hall. It was crowded with deeply attentive hearers. Mr. *Egginton*, the minister, seemed friendly disposed; and the prospect of doing much good, was fair and promising.—From hence Mr. *Wesley* went on to *Bristol*, and then to *London*. His stay was not long in either of these places. For February 14, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the badness of the roads at this time in many parts of *England*, he again set out on horseback for the North. On the 19th, he reached *Newcastle*; and here, and in the neighbouring towns and villages he spent near six weeks, in preaching and exhorting, in praying and conversing with the people, and in regulating the societies.

A great

A great number of these societies were already formed exactly on the same principles, in various parts of the kingdom, though at a considerable distance one from another. But hitherto no general rules had been made to govern the whole. The two brothers, therefore, now drew up a set of rules which should be observed by the members of all their societies, and as it were, unite them all into one body ; so that a member at *Newcastle*, knew the rules of the society in *London*, as well as at the place where he resided. They were printed under the title of “ *The Nature, Design, and GENERAL RULES, of the United Societies, in London, Bristol, Newcastle upon Tyne, &c.* and here it will be proper to insert them.

I. They state the nature and design of a *Methodist* society in the following words, “ Such a society is no other than, *A company of men, having the form, and seeking the power of godliness ; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.*”

“ That it may the more easily be discerned, whether they are indeed working out their own salvation, each society is divided into smaller companies, called *classes*, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class ; one of whom is styled the *Leader*. It is his business, 1. To see each person in his class once a week at least, in order to inquire, how their souls prosper. To advise, reprove, comfort or exhort, as occasions require ; to receive what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor. 2. To meet the minister, and the *stewards* of the society once a week, in order to inform the minister of any that are sick ; or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reprov'd : to

pay to the stewards what they have received of their several classes, the week preceding ; and, to shew their accounts of what each person has contributed.

II. “ There is one only condition previously required in those who desire admission into these societies, *A desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.* But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shewn by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

1. “ By doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind ; especially that which is most generally practised, such is

“ The taking the name of God in vain : The profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling : drunkenness : *buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them,* unless in cases of extreme necessity : fighting, quarrelling, brawling ; brother going to law with brother ; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing : The using many words in buying or selling : The *buying or selling uncustomed goods* : The *giving or taking things on usury* ; i. e. unlawful interest : *Uncharitable or unprofitable conversation* ; particularly speaking evil of magistrates, or ministers : Doing to others as we would not they should do unto us : Doing what we know is not for the glory of God : As

“ The *putting on gold, or costly apparel* : The *taking such diversions* as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus : The *singing those songs, or reading those books,* which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God : Softness, or needless self-indulgence : Laying up treasures upon earth :  
Borrowing

Borrowing without a probability of paying; or, taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

“ It is expected of all who continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

2. “ By doing good, by being in every kind merciful after their power; as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as far as is possible to all men: To their bodies, of the ability which God giveth; by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick, or in prison. To their souls, by instructing, reproving, or exhorting all they have intercourse with; trampling underfoot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that, *we are not to do good unless our hearts be free to it.*

“ By doing good, especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others; buying one of another; helping each other in business; and so much the more, because the world will love its own, and them only.

“ By all possible *diligence* and *frugality*, that the gospel be not blamed: By running with patience the race that is set before them, *denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily*; submitting to bear the reproach of *Christ*, to be as the filth and off-scouring of the world; and looking that men should *say all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake.*

“ It is expected of all who desire to continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

3. “ By attending upon all the ordinances of God. Such are, The public worship of God: The ministry

of the word, either read or expounded : The supper of the Lord : Family and private prayer : Searching the scriptures , and fasting and abstinence.

“ These are the general rules of our societies ; all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, the only rule, and the *sufficient* rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these we know his Spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be made known unto them who watch over that soul, as they that must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways ; we will bear with him for a season. But if he repent not, he hath no more place with us. We have delivered our own soul.

“ JOHN WESLEY,

May 1, 1743.

“ CHARLES WESLEY.”

The reader will take notice, 1. That the account here given of the *nature* and *design* of a *Methodist* society, differs essentially from the definitions hitherto given of a church. There is no mention of sacrament or the Lord's supper, which was never administered except in a few of the larger societies, and then by a regular clergyman. The members were desired to attend this ordinance at the respective places of worship to which they belonged, and thereby continue their former church fellowship. Mr. *Wesley*, and the preachers with him, disclaimed every thought of making *proselytes*, and only sought to make *Christians*, among people of all denominations. 2. That, by the minister here mentioned, is meant a clergyman, the *laymen* who assisted being never called *ministers*, but simply *preachers*, or *helpers* of the ministers. One of these preachers, was afterwards called the *Assistant*, because

because he was appointed to *assist* Mr. *Wesley* in the government of the societies, and in his absence to enforce the rules, and direct every part of the discipline in the same manner Mr. *Wesley* would have done, had he been present.

Every member of the society was obliged to meet in class. But those, who, being justified by faith, had peace with God, and the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, were again divided into smaller companies, called *Bands*; the men and women apart. Each band had a person called the leader, who met the little company once a week, and also received a small contribution for the poor. At the quarterly visitation, when the tickets were changed, these persons received a ticket with a *b.* printed upon it, signifying that they met in band. These are called band-tickets, and admit those who hold them into the meetings where the bands alone are assembled. The following are the

#### DIRECTIONS *given to the BAND SOCIETIES.*

“ You are supposed to have the *faith that overcometh the world*. To you, therefore, it is not grievous.

I. “ Carefully to abstain from doing evil: in particular, 1. Neither to buy or sell any thing at all on the Lord’s-day. 2. To taste no spirituous liquors, *no dram* of any kind, unless prescribed by a physician. 3. To be at a word both in buying and selling. 4. To *pawn, nothing*, no not to save life. 5. Not to *mention the fault* of any *behind his back*. 6. To wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, ruffles. 7. To use no *needless self-indulgence*,

*indulgence*, such as taking snuff, or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician.

II. “ Zealously to maintain good works : in particular, 1. To *give alms* of such things as you possess, and that to the uttermost of your power. 2. To reprove all that sin in your sight, and that in love, and meekness of wisdom. 3. To be patterns of *diligence* and *frugality*, of *self-denial*, and taking up the cross daily.

III. “ Constantly to attend on all the ordinances of God : in particular, 1. To be at church, and at the Lord’s table every week ; and at every public meeting of the bands. 2. To attend the public ministry of the word every morning,\* unless distance, business, or sickness prevent. 3. To use private prayer every day : and family prayer, if you are the head of a family. 4. To read the scriptures, and meditate therein, at every vacant hour. And, 5. To observe, as days of fasting and abstinence, all *Fridays* in the year.”

On his return from *Newcastle*, Mr. *Wesley* again visited *Wednesbury*, where he found the society already increased to several hundreds. But a cloud was gathering over them which threatened a dreadful storm.—The Sunday following the scene began to open. “ I think (says Mr. *Wesley*) I never heard so wicked a sermon, and delivered with such bitterness of voice and manner, as that which Mr. *Egginton* preached in the afternoon. I knew what effect this must have in a little time, and therefore judged it expedient to prepare the poor people for what was to follow, that when it came, they might not be offended. Accordingly, I strongly enforced those words  
of

\* This was always at five o’clock, winter and summer, in all kinds of weather.

of our Lord, *If any man come after me, and hate not his father and mother—yea, and his own life, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple.*”

Having visited *Bristol*, and *Wales*, he returned to *London*; and May 29, began to officiate at the chapel in *West-street*, near the *Seven-Dials*; built about sixty years before, by the *French* Protestants. By a strange chain of providences, a lease was obtained of this chapel, and the *Methodists* continue to hold it to the present time.

At this period Mr. *Wesley* staid but a short time in any place; he was, what the Reverend Mr. *Lewis*, of *Holt*, some time after called him, an *individuum vagum*, a mere wanderer; for purposes however, which appeared to him of the utmost importance to the happiness of men. After having visited the classes, and set in order such things as required his care and attention, he set out for the North, taking the societies in *Staffordshire*, and various other places in his way to *Newcastle*, and again reached *London* in the latter end of July. In August, he observes, “Having found for some time a strong desire to unite with Mr. *Whitefield* as far as possible, to cut off needless dispute, I wrote down my sentiments as plain as I could in the following terms. There are three points in debate, 1. *Unconditional election*; 2. *Irresistible grace*; 3. *Final perseverance*. With regard to the first, *unconditional election*, I believe,

“That God before the foundation of the world, did *unconditionally elect* certain persons to do certain works; as *Paul* to preach the gospel: that he has *unconditionally elected* some nations to receive peculiar privileges, the *Jewish* nation in particular: that he has *unconditionally elected* some nations to hear the gospel,



gospel, as *England* and *Scotland* now, and many others in past ages: that he has *unconditionally elected* some persons to many peculiar advantages, both with regard to temporal and spiritual things: and I do not deny, though I cannot prove it is so, that he has *unconditionally elected* some persons to eternal glory.

“ But I cannot believe, That all those who are *not* thus elected to glory, *must* perish everlastingly: or, that there is one soul on earth, who has never had a *possibility* of escaping eternal damnation.

“ With regard to the second, *irresistible grace*; I believe, That the grace which brings faith, and thereby salvation into the soul, is irresistible *at that moment*: that most believers may remember some time when God *irresistibly* convinced them of sin: that most believers do at some other times, find God *irresistibly* acting upon their souls: yet I believe, that the grace of God, both before and after those moments, may be, and hath been resisted: and that, in general, it does not act *irresistibly*, but we *may* comply therewith, or *may not*. And I do not deny, that in *some* souls the grace of God is so far *irresistible*, that they cannot but believe, and be finally saved.

“ But I cannot believe, that all those *must* be damned, in whom it does not thus *irresistibly* work: or, that there is one soul on earth, who has not, and never had any other grace, than such as does in fact increase his damnation, and was designed of God so to do.

“ With regard to the third, *final perseverance*, I am inclined to believe, that there is a state attainable in this life, from which a man cannot finally fall: and that he has attained this, who can say, *Old things*

*things are passed away ; all things in me are become new."*

August 26. Mr. *Wesley* set out for *Cornwall*, where his brother and two of the preachers had already laboured with great success : but he made no considerable stop, till he came to *St. Ives*. Some time before, Captain *Turner*, of *Bristol*, connected it seems with the *Methodists*, had put in here, and was agreeably surprised to find a little society formed upon Dr. *Woodward's* plan, who constantly met together. They were greatly refreshed and strengthened by him, as he also was by them. This was the occasion of introducing the *Methodists* to this place. Mr. *Wesley* spake severally with those of the society, now increased to about a hundred and twenty ; near a hundred of whom had found peace with God. He spent three weeks in preaching here, and in *Zennor*, *Morva*, *St. Just*, *Senman*, *St. Mary's* (one of the Isles of *Scilly*) *Gwenap*, and on several of the Downs throughout the West of *Cornwall*. It has pleased God, to give increase to the seed sown by his servants, so that it has since produced an abundant harvest. There is hardly any part of the three kingdoms where a change has been more visible and general, in the manners of the people. *Hurling*, their favourite diversion, at which limbs were often broken, and frequently lives lost, is now hardly heard of : and that scandal of humanity, so constantly practised on the coasts of *Cornwall*, the plundering vessels that struck upon the rocks, and often murdering those who escaped out of the wreck, is now either quite at an end, or the gentlemen, not the poor tinnerns, are to be blamed. And more has been done to suppress smuggling, by preaching in this county and enforcing the rules of the society, than either the laws of the country,

country, or the officers of excise, were ever able to effect. But it is not harmlessness, or outward decency alone, which has so increased, but the religion of the heart; faith working by love, producing all inward as well as outward holiness.

October 3. Having visited *Wales*, he returned to *Bristol*, and now received full information of the riots at *Wednesbury*. Mr. *Egginton*, assisted by two neighbouring Justices, Mr. *Lane*, of *Bentley-hall*, and Mr. *Persehouse* of *Walsal*, having stirred up the basest of the people, such outrages followed as were a scandal to the Christian name. Riotous mobs were summoned together by sound of horn; men, women, and children abused in the most shocking manner; being beaten, stoned, covered with mud; some, even pregnant women, treated in a manner that cannot be mentioned. Mean time their houses were broke open by any that pleased, and their goods spoiled or carried away, at *Wednesbury*, *Darlaston*, *West-Bromwich*, &c. some of the owners standing by, but not daring to gainsay, as it would have been at the peril of their lives. Mr. *Wesley* thought it was his duty to visit this harassed people in their distress, and on the 17th, set forward towards this scene of confusion and outrage. On the 20th, having preached at *Birmingham*, he rode over to *Wednesbury*, and preached at noon in a ground near the middle of the town, on *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*.—"No creature offered to molest us, (says Mr. *Wesley*) either going or coming: but the *Lord fought for us*, and we held our peace.

Mr. *Wesley* proceeds. "I was writing at *Francis Ward's*, in the afternoon, when the cry arose, that the mob had beset the house. We prayed that God would disperse them: and so it was; one went this way,

way, and another that, so that in half an hour not a man was left. I told our brethren now is the time to go: but they pressed me exceedingly to stay. So that I might not offend them, I sat down, though I foresaw what would follow. Before five the mob surrounded the house again, and in greater numbers than ever. The cry of one and all was, 'Bring out the minister, we will have the minister.' I desired one to take the captain by the hand and bring him into the house. After a few sentences interchanged between us, the lion was become a lamb. I desired him to go, and bring one or two of the most angry of his companions. He brought in two, who were ready to swallow the ground with rage: but in two minutes they were as calm as he. I then bade them make way, that I might go out among the people. As soon as I was in the midst of them, I called for a chair, and asked, 'What do any of you want with me?' Some said, we want you to go with us to the justice. I replied, that I will with all my heart. I then spoke a few words, which God applied; so that they cried out with might and main, 'The gentleman is an honest gentleman, and we will spill our blood in his defence.' I asked, shall we go to the justice to-night or in the morning? Most of them cried, 'To-night, to-night:' on which I went before, and two or three hundred followed, the rest returning from whence they came.

"The night came on before we had walked a mile, together with heavy rain. However, on we went to *Bentley-hall*, two miles from *Wednesbury*. One or two ran before, to tell Mr. *Lane*, 'They had brought Mr. *Wesley* before his worship.' Mr. *Lane* replied, 'What have I to do with Mr. *Wesley*? Go and carry him back again.' By this time the main body came up, and began knocking at the door. A servant told

told them, Mr. *Lane* was in bed. His son followed, and asked, what was the matter? One replied, 'Why, an't please you, they sing psalms all day : nay, and make folks rise at five in the morning. And what would your worship advise us to do?' To go said Mr. *Lane*, and be quiet.

"Here they were at a full stop, till one advised to go to justice *Persehouse*, at *Walsal*. All agreed to this: so we hastened on, and about seven came to his house. But Mr. *Persehouse* likewise sent word, that he was in bed. Now they were at a stand again: but at last they all thought it the wisest course to make the best of their way home. About fifty of them undertook to convoy me. But we had not gone a hundred yards, when the mob of *Walsal* came pouring in like a flood, and bore down all before them. The *Darlston* mob made what defence they could; but they were weary, as well as out-numbered: so that in a short time, many being knocked down, the rest went away, and left me in their hands.

"To attempt speaking was vain; for the noise on every side was like the roaring of the sea. So they dragged me along till we came to the town: where seeing the door of a large house open, I attempted to go in; but a man catching me by the hair, pulled me back into the middle of the mob. They made no more stop till they had carried me through the main street, from one end of the town to the other. I continued speaking all the time to those within hearing, feeling no pain or weariness. At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I made towards it, and would have gone in. But a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me, saying, they would pull the house to the ground. However, I stood at the door and asked, are you willing to hear me speak? Many cried out, 'No, no! knock his brains out; down with

him: kill him at once.' Others said, 'Nay; but we will hear him first.' I began asking, what evil have I done? Which of you all have I wronged in word or deed? And continued speaking for above a quarter of an hour, till my voice suddenly failed. Then the floods began to lift up their voice again; many crying out, 'Bring him away, bring him away.'

"In the mean time my strength and my voice returned, and I broke out aloud into prayer. And now the man who just before headed the mob, turned and said, 'Sir, I will spend my life for you. Follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head.' Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words, and got close to me immediately. At the same time the gentleman in the shop cried out, 'For shame! for shame! let him go.' An honest butcher, who was a little further off, said it was a shame they should do thus: and pulled back four or five, one after another, who were running on the most fiercely. The people then, as if it had been by common consent, fell back to the right and left: while those three or four men took me between them, and carried me through them all. But on the bridge the mob rallied again; we therefore went on one side, over the mill-dam, and thence through the meadows: till a little before ten, God brought me safe to *Wednesbury*; having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

"From the beginning to the end, I found the same presence of mind, as if I had been sitting in my own study. But I took no thought for one moment before another: only once it came into my mind, that if they should throw me into the river, it would spoil the papers that were in my pocket. For myself I did not doubt but that I should swim across, having but a thin coat and a light pair of boots.

"The

“The circumstances that follow, I thought were particularly remarkable. 1. That many endeavoured to throw me down while we were going down-hill, on a slippery path to the town; as well-judging, that if I was once on the ground, I should hardly rise any more. But I made no stumble at all, nor the least slip, till I was entirely out of their hands. 2. That although many strove to lay hold on my collar or clothes, to pull me down, they could not fasten at all: only one got fast hold of the flap of my waistcoat, which was soon left in his hand. 3. That a lusty man just behind, struck at me several times, with a large oaken stick; with which if he had struck me once on the back part of my head, it would have saved him all further trouble. But every time the blow was turned aside, I know not how. 4. That another came rushing through the press, and raising his arm to strike, on a sudden let it drop, and only stroked my head, saying, ‘What soft hair he has!’ 5. That I stopped exactly at the Mayor’s door, as if I had known it, which the mob doubtless thought I did, and found him standing in the shop; which gave the first check to the madness of the people. 6. That the very first men whose hearts were turned, were the heroes of the town, the captains of the rabble on all occasions; one of them having been a prize-fighter at the bear-gardens. 7. That from first to last, I heard none give a reviling word, or call me by any *opprobrious* name whatever. But the cry of one and all was, ‘The preacher! The preacher! The parson! The minister.’ 8. That no creature, at least within my hearing, laid any thing to my charge, either true or false; having in the hurry quite forgot to provide themselves with an accusation of any kind. And, lastly, they were utterly at a loss, what they should do with me; none proposing any determinate thing; only, ‘Away with him, kill him at once.’

“When

“ When I came back to *Francis Ward's*, I found many of our brethren waiting upon God. Many also whom I had never seen before, came to rejoice with us. And the next morning as I rode through the town, in my way to *Nottingham*, every one I met expressed such a cordial affection, that I could scarce believe what I saw and heard.

“ I cannot close this head, without inserting as great a curiosity in its kind, as, I believe, was ever yet seen in England ; which had its birth within a very few days of this remarkable occurrence at *Walsal*.

*Staffordshire.*

“ To all High-Constables, Petty-Constables, and other of his Majesty's Peace-Officers within the said County, &c.

“ WHEREAS, we, his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County of *Stafford*, have received information, that several disorderly persons, styling themselves *Methodist* Preachers, go about raising routs and riots, to the great damage of his Majesty's liege people, and against the peace of our sovereign Lord the King :

“ These are in his Majesty's name, to command you, and every one of you, within your respective districts, to make diligent search after the said *Methodist* Preachers, and to bring him or them before some of us, his said Majesty's Justices of the Peace, to be examined concerning their unlawful doings.

“ Given under our hands and seals, this — day of *October*, 1743.

*J. Lane,*

*W. Perschouse.”*

It appears from the preceding account, that these were the two justices to whom the mob carried Mr. *Wesley*, and who severally refused to see him. What is it a mob will not dare to do, when encouraged to break



break the peace, by the very men who are sworn to maintain it!

Mr. *Wesley* now went forwards toward the North, and on Sunday, October 30, being at *Wensley*, he preached in the church, on, *What must I do to be saved?* He shewed in the plainest terms he could devise, that outward religion will not bring us to heaven: that none can go thither without inward holiness, which is only to be attained by faith.\* As he went back through the church-yard, many of the parish were in high debate, What religion this preacher was of? Some said he must be a *Quaker*; others, an *Anabaptist*: but at length one deeper learned than the rest, brought them all clearly over to his opinion, that he was, a *Presbyterian-Papist*!

February 15, 1744. A report prevailed that the *French*, threatened an invasion, and were expected to land every hour, in support of *Charles Stuart*, the *Pretender* to the Crown of *England*. At this critical time, many addresses were sent up to the throne, expressing attachment to the principles of the Revolution, and to the King's person and government. The alarm was general; the principles of the *Methodists* were but imperfectly known, and their itinerancy and private societies brought them under general suspicion. Mr. *Wesley* was therefore desired to write an address to the King, and March 5, he complied with the request, and wrote as follows:

“ To the King's Most Excellent Majesty ;  
 “ The humble Address of the Societies in *England*  
 and *Wales*, in Derision called *Methodists*.  
 “ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ So inconsiderable as we are, a people scattered and peeled and trodden under foot from the beginning hitherto, we should in no wise have presumed, even on this  
 great

great occasion, to open our lips to your Majesty, had we not been induced, indeed constrained so to do, by two considerations: the one, that in spite of all our remonstrances on that head, we are continually represented as a peculiar sect of men, separating ourselves from the established church; the other that, we are still traduced as inclined to Popery, and consequently disaffected to your Majesty.

“ Upon these considerations, we think it incumbent upon us, if we must stand as a distinct body from our brethren, to tender for ourselves, our most dutiful regards to your sacred Majesty: and to declare in the presence of him we serve, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, that we are a part, however mean, of that Protestant church established in these kingdoms: that we unite together for this and no other end, to promote, so far as we are capable, justice, mercy, and truth; the glory of God, and peace and good-will among men: that we detest and abhor the fundameptal doctrines of the church of *Rome*, and are steadily attached to your Majesty’s royal person and illustrious house.

“ We cannot indeed, say or do either more or less, than we apprehend consistent with the written word of God. But we are ready to obey your Majesty to the uttermost, in all things which we conceive to be agreeable thereto. And we earnestly exhort all with whom we converse, as they fear God, to honour the King. We of the clergy in particular, put all men in mind to revere the higher powers, as of God: and continually declare, ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

“ Silver and gold, most of us must own, we have none. But such as we have, we humbly beg your Majesty to accept: together with our hearts and  
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prayers: may he who hath bought us with his blood, the Prince of all the Kings of the earth, fight against all the enemies of your Majesty, with the two-edged sword that cometh out of his mouth! And when he calleth your Majesty from this throne, full of years and victories, may it be with that voice, Come, receive the kingdom prepared for thee, from the beginning of the world!

“ These are the continual prayer of, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, *John Wesley*, &c.”—This address was not presented; it being on further consideration, judged best to lay it aside.\*

“ In April, (says *Mr. Wesley*) I took a second journey into *Cornwall*, and went through many towns I had not seen before. Since my former visit, there had been hot persecution both of the preachers and people. The preaching-house at *St. Ives*, was pulled to the ground: one of the preachers pressed and sent for a soldier, as were several of the people: over and above the being stoned, covered with dirt, and the like, which was the treatment many of them met with from day to day. But notwithstanding this, they who had been eminent for hurling, fighting, drinking, and all manner of wickedness, continued eminent for sobriety, piety, and all manner of goodness. In all parts, more and more of the lions became lamb, continually praising God, and calling their old companions in sin, to come and magnify the Lord together. About the same time *John Nelson*, and *Thomas Beard*, were pressed and sent for soldiers, for no other crime, either committed or pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. The case of *John Nelson* is well known. *Thomas Beard* also, was nothing terrified by his adversaries. Yet the body after a while sunk under its burden. He was then lodged in the hospital

hospital of *Newcastle*, where he still praised God continually. His fever increasing, he was let blood: his arm festered, mortified, and was cut off: two or three days after which, God signed his discharge, and called him up to his eternal home.

“ All this year the alarms were uninterrupted, from the *French* on the one hand, and the *Rebels* on the other: and a general panic ran through the nation, from the East to the West, from the North to the South. I judged it the more needful to visit as many places as possible, and avail myself of the precious opportunity. My brother and our other preachers were of the same mind: they spoke and spared not. They rushed through every open door, and cried, ‘ Sinners, behold the Lamb !’ And their word did not fall to the ground: they saw abundant fruit of their labour. I went through many parts of *Wales*: through most of the midland counties; and then through *Lincolnshire*, and *Yorkshire*, to *Newcastle upon Tyne*. And multitudes who were utterly careless before, did now *prepare to meet their God*.”

The persecution at *St. Ives*, Mr. *Wesley* observes, “ Was owing in great measure to the indefatigable labours of Mr. *Hoblin*, and Mr. *Simmons*; gentlemen worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance, for their unwearied endeavours to destroy heresy.

“ *Fortunati ambo ! Siquid mea pagina possit,  
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet avo.*”

Happy both ! Long as my writings, shall your fame remain.

The riots in *Staffordshire* still continued in the beginning of this year. The mob of *Walsal*, *Darlaston*,

and *Wednesbury*, hired for the purpose by their betters, broke open their poor neighbours' houses at their pleasure, by day and by night, extorting money from the few that had it; taking away, or destroying their victuals and goods; beating and wounding their bodies; abusing their women, and openly declaring they would destroy every *Methodist* in the country: the *Christian* country where his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects were so treated for eight months, and then publicly branded in the *Whitehall* and *London Evening-Post*, for rioters and incendiaries!

From *Cornwall*, Mr. *Wesley* passed over into *Wales*; on his return he made a short stay at *Bristol*, and then set out for the North, visiting most of the societies in his way to *Newcastle*. June 20, he returned to *London*, where he met his brother, two or three other clergymen, and a few of the preachers, whom he had appointed to come from various parts, to confer with them on the affairs of the societies. Mr. *Wesley* observes, "Monday, June 25, and the five following days, we spent in conference with our preachers, seriously considering, by what means we might the most effectually save our own souls and them that heard us. And the result of our consultations we set down, to be the RULES of our future practice."—This was the first *Methodist Conference*: and for the better regulation of their affairs, a conference has been held annually ever since; Mr. *Wesley* having presided at forty-seven such conferences. The subjects of their deliberations were proposed in the form of questions, which were amply discussed; and the questions with the answers agreed upon were written down, and afterwards printed, under the title of, "*Minutes of several Conversations between the Reverend Mr. Wesley and others*:" commonly called *Minutes of Conference*.

## CHAPTER

## CHAPTER II.

*Containing further Account of Mr. Wesley's Labours; a Summary of the Minutes of Conference respecting the Doctrines he taught : and a View of the Spread of Methodism until the Conference in 1751.*

THE plan on which Mr. Wesley had hitherto governed the societies and the preachers, was imperfect; and as the number increased must soon have become insupportably laborious. When the preachers at first, went out to exhort and preach, it was by Mr. Wesley's permission and authority; some from one part of the kingdom, some from another: and though strangers, yet on his credit and sanction alone, they were received and provided for as friends, by the societies wherever they came. But, having little or no communication or intercourse with one another, nor any subordination among themselves, they must have been under a continual necessity of recurring to Mr. Wesley for direction, *how* and *where* each one was to labour. By calling them together to a *Conference*, he brought them into closer union with each other, and made them sensible of the utility of acting in concert and harmony under his direction and appointment. He soon found it necessary, however, to bring their itinerancy under certain regulations, and reduce it to some fixed order; both to prevent confusion, and for his own ease. He therefore took fifteen or twenty societies, more or less, which lay round some principal society in those parts, and which were so situated, that the

the greatest distance from one to the other was not much more than twenty miles, and united them into what was called a *circuit*. At the yearly conference, he appointed two, three, or four preachers to one of these circuits, according to its extent, which at first was often very considerable, sometimes taking in a part of three or four counties. Here, and here only, they were to labour for one year, that is, until the next conference. One of the preachers on every circuit, was called the *Assistant*, for the reason before mentioned. He took charge of all the societies within the limits assigned him ; he enforced the Rules every where ; and superintended and directed the labours of the preachers associated with him. Having received a list of the societies forming his circuit, he took his own station in it, gave to the other preachers a plan of it, and pointed out the day when each should be at the place fixed for him, to begin a progressive motion round it, in such order as the plan directed. They now followed one another through all the societies belonging to that circuit at stated distances of time : all being governed by the same rule, and undergoing the same labour. By this plan, every preacher's daily work was appointed beforehand, each knew every day where the others were, and each society when to expect the preacher, and how long he would stay with them. But of late years, since the great increase of *Methodism*, the circuits have been divided and subdivided, which has made way for a great increase of preachers, and rendered the fatigues of Itinerancy trifling, compared with what they were in the beginning. Many of the preachers too, have been suffered to stay two years, sometimes three, on the same circuit, and even then have been removed to a circuit only a few miles distant. Nay, it is said, that the societies in

in *London* itself, with the places adjacent, have been divided into *three circuits*, by which a few preachers may become stationary for a great number of years. Mr. *Wesley* considered Itinerancy as of the utmost importance to *Methodism*; but by dividing the circuits in this manner, the effects of it have already been much diminished, and if care be not taken, may in time be totally destroyed.

The conference being ended, Mr. *Wesley* observes, "The next week we endeavoured to purge the society of all that did not walk worthy of the gospel. By this means we reduced the number of members to less than nineteen hundred. But number is an inconsiderable circumstance. May God increase them in faith and love!" This shews us, the astonishing increase of members in the *Methodist* societies. Four years before this period, Mr. *Wesley* separated from the brethren at *Fetter-lane*, and soon after fifty or sixty joined with him: these were now increased, in and about *London*, to nineteen hundred! Had the original piety, zeal, and disinterestedness been preserved unabated among all the preachers, and their first plan inviolably kept in every place, it is impossible to say how far the beneficial influence of *Methodism* over the morals of the people of all ranks in this nation, would have been extended!

"August 24, *St. Bartholomew's-Day*, says Mr. *Wesley*) I preached for the last time before the University of *Oxford*. I am now clear of the blood of these men. I have fully delivered my own soul. And I am well pleased that it should be the very day, on which, in the last century, near two thousand burning and shining lights, were put out at one stroke.\* Yet what  
a wide

\* *Bartholomew's-Day* has been twice remarkable for the cruelties exercised upon it. The first instance was the massacre of seventy thousand



a wide difference is there between their case and mine ! They were turned out of house and home, and all that they had : whereas I am only hindered from preaching, without any other loss ; and that in a kind of honourable manner : it being determined, that when my next turn to preach came, they would pay another person to preach for me. And so they did twice or thrice ; even to the time that I resigned my fellowship."

All this summer the preachers and people in *Cornwall*, had hard service, the war against the *Methodists* being carried on more vigorously than that against the *Spaniards*. In September Mr. *Wesley* received the following letter from Mr. *Henry Millard*, one of the preachers in *Cornwall*, giving some account of their difficulties. " The word of God (says he) has free course here : it runs and is glorified. But the Devil rages horribly. Even at *St. Ives*, we cannot shut the door of *John Nance's* house to meet the society, but the mob immediately threatens to break it open. And in other places it is worse. I was going to *Crowan* on Tuesday, and within a quarter of a mile of the place where I was to preach, when some met me, and begged me not to go up : saying, ' If you do, there will surely be murder ; if there is not already : for  
many

*French* Protestants throughout the kingdom of *France*, by the *Papists*, attended with circumstances of the most horrid treachery and cruelty. It began at *Paris*, in the night of the festival of *St. Bartholomew*, August 24, 1572, by secret orders from *Charles IX.* king of *France*, at the instigation of the Queen Dowager, *Catharine de Medicis*, his mother. The second instance was the Act of *Uniformity*, which was enforced on *Bartholomew's-Day*, August 24, 1662, by which two thousand ministers, many of them the most pious and learned men in the nation, were cast out from the Church of *England*, because they could not conform to certain ceremonies in Divine Worship, which the Bishops chose to impose upon them. By this proceeding they were not only deprived of their usefulness, but many of them with their families, reduced to poverty and want !

many were knocked down, before we came away.\* By their advice I turned back to the house where I had left my horse. We had been there but a short time, when many people came in very bloody. But the main cry of the mob was, 'Where is the preacher?' whom they sought for in every part of the house; swearing bitterly, 'If we can but knock him on the head we shall be satisfied.'

"Not finding me, they said, 'However we shall catch him on Sunday at *Cambourn*.' But it was Mr. *Westall's* turn to be there. While he was preaching at Mr. *Harris's*, a tall man came in, and pulled him down. Mr. *Harris* demanded his warrant; but he swore, 'Warrant or no warrant, he shall go with me.' So he carried him out to the mob, who took him away to the church-town. They kept him there till the Tuesday morning, when the Rev. Dr. *Borlase* wrote his *mittimus*, by virtue of which he was to be committed to the house of correction at *Bodmin*, as a vagrant. So they took him as far as *Cambourn* that night, and the next day to *Bodmin*."

The justices who met at the next quarter-sessions in *Bodmin*, knowing a little more of the laws of God and man, or at least shewing more regard for them, than Dr. *Borlase*, declared Mr. *Westall's* commitment to be contrary to all law, and immediately set him at liberty.\*

All

How seldom have we seen clergymen in the commission of the peace, but they have neglected the duties of their profession, and grossly abused the power committed them! Our Lord declared his kingdom was not of this world: and when his ministers of any denomination, obtain dominion and authority over the temporal things of others, or acquire any share in the civil government, it seems as if a curse attended every thing they do. They mar whatever they meddle with; and occasion infinite confusion and mischief.—Dr. *Whitehead*.

All this year God was carrying on the same work, that is, reformation of manners on *evangelical* principles, in the *English* army abroad, though on a smaller scale: some account of which Mr. *Wesley* received from one of their preachers, in the following letter, dated November. “We make bold (says Mr. *Evans*, the writer) to trouble you with this, to acquaint you with some of the Lord’s dealings with us here. We have hired two rooms; one small, wherein a few of us meet every day: and another large, wherein we meet for public service twice a day, at nine and at four. And the hand of the omnipotent God is with us, to the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan.

“The seventh instant, when we were met together in the evening, as I was at prayer, one that was kneeling by me, cried out like a woman in travail, My Redeemer! my Redeemer! When he was asked, what was the matter? He said, he had found that which he had often heard of, an heaven upon earth. And several others had much ado to forbear crying out in the same manner.

“Dear Sir, I am a stranger to you in the flesh. I know not, if I have seen you above once, when I saw you preaching on *Kennington-Common*. I then hated you as much as, by the grace of God, I love you now. The Lord pursued me with convictions from my infancy: and I made many good resolutions. But finding I could not keep them, I at length gave myself over to all manner of profaneness. So I continued till the battle of *Dettingen*. The balls there came very thick about me, and my comrades fell on every side. Yet I was preserved unhurt. A few days after, the Lord was pleased to visit me. The pains of hell got hold upon me; the snares of death encompassed me.

me. I durst no longer commit any outward sin, and I prayed God to be merciful to my soul. Now I was at a loss for books: but God took care of this also. One day I found an old Bible in one of the train waggons. This was now my only companion; and I believed myself a very good Christian, till we came to winter quarters, where I met with *John Haine*. But I was soon sick of his company; for he robbed me of my treasure, telling me, I and my works were going to hell together. This was strange doctrine to me, and as I was of a stubborn temper, he sometimes resolved to forbid my coming to him any more.

“ When the Lord had at length opened my eyes, and shewn me that *by grace we are saved through faith*, I began immediately to declare it to others, though I had not yet experienced it myself. But October 23, as *William Clements* was at prayer, I felt on a sudden, a great alteration in my soul. My eyes overflowed with tears of love: I knew I was through *Christ*, reconciled to God; which inflamed my soul with love to him whom I now saw to be my complete Redeemer.

“ O the tender care of Almighty God in bringing up his children! Dear Sir, I beg you will pray for him, who is not worthy to be a door-keeper to the least of my Master’s servants.”

February 4, 1745, Mr. *Wesley* observes, “ I had the pleasure of receiving from Dr. *Hartley*, a particular account of Dr. *Cheyne’s* last hours.\* During  
his

\* Dr. *George Cheyne*, a physician of great learning and abilities, was born in *Scotland*, in 1671. He passed his youth in close study and great temperance. But coming to *London*, when about thirty, and finding the younger gentry and free-livers to be the most easy of access, he suddenly

his last illness he felt a gentle and gradual decay, so that he apprehended what the event would be. But it did not appear to give him any concern. He seemed quite loose from all below, till without any struggle, either of body or mind, he calmly gave up his soul to God."

March 11, Mr. *Wesley* observes, "Many persons still representing the *Methodists* as enemies to the clergy, I wrote to a friend the real state of the case, in as plain a manner as I could.

" 1. About

denly changed his former manner of living to associate with them; having observed that this method had succeeded to introduce some others into practice. The consequence was that he grew daily in bulk, swelling to such an enormous size, that he exceeded thirty-two stone in weight, and was forced to have the whole side of his chariot made open to receive him: he grew short-breathed, lethargic, nervous, and scorbutic; so that his life became an intolerable burden. After trying all the power of medicine in vain, he resolved to try a milk and vegetable diet; the good effects of which soon appeared. His size was reduced almost a third; and he recovered his strength, activity, and cheerfulness, with the perfect use of all his faculties. He lived to a mature period, dying at *Bath* in 1741, aged 72. He wrote several treatises that were well received; particularly, "An Essay on Health and Long Life;" and, "The *English* Malady, or a Treatise of Nervous Diseases;" both the result of his own experience. His "Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion," published in 1705, is a work that shews great strength of mind, and extensive knowledge. Mr. *Wesley* was well acquainted with him, and always spoke of him with esteem.

*David Hartley*, M. A. here mentioned by Mr. *Wesley*, was born at *Ilmgworth*, where his father was curate, and received his academical education at *Jesus College*, *Cambridge*, of which he was fellow. He first began to practise physic at *Newark*, in *Nottinghamshire*: from whence he removed to *St. Edmund's Bury*, in *Suffolk*. After this he settled for some time in *London*; and lastly went to live at *Bath*, where he died in 1757, aged 53. His most considerable literary production, is a work entitled "Observations on Man, his frame, his duty, and his expectations, in two parts;" *London*, 1749, 2 vols. 8vo. of which, a few years ago, a second edition was published. The first part contains observations on the

“ 1. About seven years since, we began preaching *inward, present salvation*, as attainable by *faith alone*. 2. For preaching *this doctrine* we were forbidden to preach in most churches. 3. We then preached in *private houses*, and when the houses could not contain the people, in the *open air*. 4. For this many of the *clergy preached or printed* against us, as both heretics and schismatics. 5. Persons who were convinced of sin, begged us to advise them more particularly, how to flee from the wrath to come? We desired them, being many, to come at one time, and we would endeavour

the frame of the human body and mind, and their mutual connexions and influences. This is a most curious and ingenious system; but it is founded on conjecture, and the parts are held together only by a vague and uncertain analogy. Dr. *Hartley* supposes, that what has been called the nervous fluid, is a fine elastic ether, through which vibrations are propagated to the brain, and through the whole of its substance. By these vibrations, and their various combinations and associations, he attempts to explain the operations of the soul. But he has not proved the existence of such an ether, nor of the vibrations which he supposes to exist. And if he had, yet he ought to have explained to us in the clearest manner, how these vibrations are the mechanical causes of the operations of the mind; or at least have shewn, that there is a constant correspondence and harmony between the laws they observe, and the laws of the phenomena they are brought to explain. But neither of these things has *he* done. The first he has totally omitted; and in attempting the latter, his analogical reasoning is, so vague and uncertain, that no man of common prudence would act upon such evidence in the affairs of life in which he was much interested.—In reference to this subject the authors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* observe, “ We think it our duty to remonstrate against this slovenly way of writing: we would even hold it up to reprobation. It has been chiefly on this faithless foundation, that the blind vanity of men has built that degrading system of opinions called MATERIALISM, by which the affections and faculties of the soul of man have been resolved into vibrations and pulses of ether.”

Dr. *Reid*, in his *Essays on the Intellectual and Active Powers of Man*, 2 vols. 4to. has proceeded on a plan much more simple and satisfactory. Soon after the first volume was published, (adds Dr. *Whitehead*) I asked the late Dr. *Price*, his opinion of it: he replied, “ I think it unanswerable, either by Dr. *Priestley*, or any other person.”

deavour it. 6. For this we were represented both from the pulpit and press, as introducing *Popery*, and raising sedition. Yea all manner of evil was said both of us, and of those who used to assemble with us. 7. Finding that some of these *did* walk disorderly, we desired them not to come to us any more. 8. And some of the others we desired to overlook the rest, that we might know whether they walked worthy of the gospel. 9. Several of the clergy now stirred up the people to treat us as outlaws or mad dogs. 10. The people did so, both in *Staffordshire*, *Cornwall*, and many other places. 11. And they do so still wherever they are not restrained by fear of the magistrates.

“Now what can *we* do, or what can *you* or our brethren do, towards healing this breach? Desire of *us* any thing which we can do with a safe conscience, and we will do it immediately. Will *you* meet us here? Will you do what we desire of you, so far as you can with a safe conscience?

“Do you desire us, 1. To preach another, or to desist from preaching this doctrine? We cannot do this with a safe conscience.

“Do you desire us, 2. To desist from preaching in *private houses*, or in the *open air*? As things are now circumstanced, this would be the same as desiring us not to preach at all.

“Do you desire us, 3. Not to advise those who meet together for that purpose? To dissolve our societies? We cannot do this with a safe conscience; for we apprehend many souls would be lost thereby.

“Do you desire us, 4. To advise them one by one? This is impossible because of their number.

“Do you desire us, 5. To suffer those who walk disorderly, still to mix with the rest? Neither can we do

this with a safe conscience : for evil communications corrupt good manners.

“ Do you desire us, 6. To discharge those leaders, as we term them who overlook the rest? This is, in effect, to suffer the disorderly walkers still to remain with the rest.

“ Do you desire us, lastly, to behave with tenderness, both to the characters and persons of our brethren the clergy? By the grace of God, we can and will do this : as indeed we have done to this day.

“ If you ask, what we desire of you to do? We answer, 1. We do not desire any of you, to let us preach in your church, either if you believe us to preach false doctrine, or if you have the least scruple. But we desire any who believes us to preach true doctrine, and has no scruple in the matter, not to be either publicly or privately discouraged from inviting us to preach in his church.

2. “ We do not desire, that any who thinks it his duty to preach or print against us, should refrain therefrom. But we desire, that none will do this, till he has calmly considered both sides of the question : and that he would not condemn us unheard, but first read what we say in our own defence.

3. “ We do not desire any favour, if either *Popery*, sedition, or immorality be proved against us. But we desire you would not credit without proof, any of those senseless tales that pass current with the vulgar : that if you do not credit them yourselves, you will not relate them to others : yea, that you will discountenance those who still retail them abroad.

4. “ We do not desire any preferment, favour, or recommendation, from those that are in power, either



in church or state.\* But we desire, 1. That if any thing material be laid to our charge, we may be permitted to answer for ourselves. 2. That you would hinder your dependants from stirring up the rabble against us, who are certainly not the proper judges in these matters: and, 3. That you would effectually suppress and discountenance all riots and popular insurrections, which evidently strike at the foundation of all government, whether of church or state.

“Not these things you certainly can do, and that with a safe conscience. Therefore till these things be done, the continuance of the breach, if there be any, is chargeable on you, and you only.”

In June Mr. *Wesley* paid another visit to *Cornwall*, where the preachers were continually persecuted, only not unto death; both by the great vulgar and the small. They shewed a little more courtesy to him, till July 4, when he went to see a gentlewoman in *Falmouth*, who had been long indisposed. “I had scarce, (says he) sat down when the house was beset with an innumerable multitude of people. They quickly forced open the outer-door and filled the passage, there being now only a wainscot-partition between us. Among them were the crews of some privateers, who being angry at the slowness of the rest, thrust them away, and setting their shoulders to the inner-door, cried out, ‘Avast, lads, avast!’ Away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell back into the room. I stepped forward into the midst of them and said, ‘Here I am; which of you has any thing to say to me;’ I continued speaking till I came into the middle of the street, though I could be heard by few only. But all that could hear were still and quiet. At length, one or two of their captains turned and swore, “Not a man shall touch him.” A clergy-  
man

man then came up and asked, "Are you not ashamed to use a stranger thus?"—He was seconded by some gentlemen of the town,\* who walked with Mr. *Wesley* to a friend's house. They then sent his horse by a person to *Penryn*, and sent him thither by water: the sea running close by the back-door of the house where he was.

On this occasion he makes the following observations: "I never saw before, no not even at *Walsal*, the hand of God so clearly shewn as here. There I received blows, was covered with dirt, and lost part of my clothes. Here, although the hands of hundreds of people were lifted up to strike or throw, yet they were one and all stopped in the midway; so that not a man touched me with his fingers: neither was any thing thrown from first to last, so that I had not a speck of dirt upon my clothes. Who can deny that God heareth prayer? Or that he hath all power in heaven and earth?"

August 1, and the following days, Mr. *Wesley* held the second Conference, with as many of the preachers as could conveniently be present. They reviewed their doctrines, and added such rules of discipline as the increase of the work required, or prudence suggested. These will all be laid before the reader as soon as they form something like a complete system.

In October, he was at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, where the *English* army lay, to oppose the progress of the rebels. Observing with great concern, the drunkenness, and profane swearing that prevailed among the soldiers, he wrote the following letter to Alderman *Ridley*; which is highly characteristic of his zeal for the propagation of Christian knowledge, and Christian piety and virtue, considered as a national blessing.

“ SIR,

“ The fear of God, the love of my country, and the regard I have for his Majesty King *George*, constrain me to write a few plain words to one who is no stranger to these principles of action.

“ My soul has been pained day by day, even in walking the streets of *Newcastle*, at the senseless, shameless wickedness, the ignorant profaneness of the poor men to whom our lives are intrusted. The continual cursing and swearing, the wanton blasphemy of the soldiers in general, must needs be a torture to the sober ear, whether of a Christian or an honest infidel. Can any that either fear God or love their neighbour, hear this without concern ? Especially if they consider the interest of our country, as well as of these unhappy men themselves ? For can it be expected, that God should be on their side who are daily affronting him to his face ? And if God be not on their side, how little will either their number, or courage, or strength avail !

“ Is there no man that careth for these souls ? Doubtless there are some who ought so to do. But many of these, if I am rightly informed, receive large pay, and do just nothing.

“ I would to God it were in my power, in any degree, to supply their lack of service, I am ready to do what in me lies, to call these poor sinners to repentance, once or twice a day, while I remain in these parts, at any hour or at any place. And I desire no pay at all for doing this : unless what my Lord shall give at his appearing.

“ If it were objected, that I should only fill their heads with peculiar whims and notions ! That might easily be known. Only let the officers hear with their own ears : and they may judge, whether I do not  
preach

preach the plain principles of manly, rational religion.

“ Having myself no knowledge of the General I took the liberty to make this offer to you. I have no interest herein: but I should rejoice to serve, as I am able, my king and country. If it be judged that this will be of no real service, let the proposal die and be forgotten. But I beg you, Sir, to believe, that I have the same glorious cause, for which you have shewn so becoming a zeal, earnestly at heart: and that therefore I am, with warm respect,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient servant.”

This letter was written on the 26th, and on the 31st, Mr. *Wesley* preached on *Newcastle Town-Moor*, at a small distance from the *English* camp. November 1. he preached again on a little eminence before the camp, and continued this practice occasionally till the 30th of this month. At half an hour after eight on this day, he preached to a larger congregation than any before; and adds, “ Were it only for the sake of this hour, I should not have thought much of staying at *Newcastle* longer than I intended. Between one and two in the afternoon, I went to the camp once more. Abundance of people now flocked together, horse and foot, rich and poor, to whom I declared, *There is no difference; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.* I observed many *Germans* standing disconsolate in the skirts of the congregation. To these I was constrained, though I had discontinued it so long, to speak a few words in their own language. Immediately they gathered up close together, and drank in every word.”

“ All this year (says Mr. *Wesley*) the work of God gradually increased in the Southern counties, as well as in the North of *England*. Many were awakened in a very remarkable manner: many were converted to God. Many were enabled to testify, that *the blood of Jesus cleanseth from all sin*. Mean time we were in most places tolerably quiet, as to popular tumults. Where any thing of the kind appeared, the Magistrates usually interposed, as indeed it was their duty to do. And wherever the peace officers do their duty, no riot can long subsist.”

Mr. *Wesley* and his brother began to be spoken of in *Scotland*, and a few of the most pious ministers there, though differing from the two brothers on many points of doctrine, yet rejoiced in the great revival of practical religion in *England*, by their means. Mr. *James Robe*, minister of *Killsyth*, having received from a friend some account of them, wrote as follows: “ I was much pleased with what you wrote to me of the Messrs. *Wesleys*. I rejoice that justification, the imputed righteousness of Jehovah our Righteousness, received by faith alone, and gospel holiness, are the subjects of their sermons; and the debated points (various sentiments about which are not inconsistent with saving faith and our acceptance with God) are laid aside. I embrace fellowship with them, and pray that the Lord of the vineyard may give the success in preaching the faith of Christ, so much needed in *England*.—As many as be perfect, let them be thus minded; and if in any other things ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless whereunto we have attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same things.—How good would it be for the christian world, if this were believed, and regarded as the word of God! When the

the happy days upon the wing are come, so it will be : and in as far as any have really shared in the late revival, it is so with them in some good measure. I learned something new, as to the exhorters,\* from the account you gave of them. I look upon them as so many licensed probationers, or useful public teachers ; which is the case of our probationers. It provides me with an answer to objections, besides that of the extraordinary circumstances of the established church. I beg you to salute the two brothers for me, much in the Lord. I wrote to my correspondents formerly, upon yours to me from *Newcastle*, that there were hopes of their joining in our concert for prayer and praise, for the revival of real Christianity. Now I can write that they have acceded ; and I hope we shall expressly remember one another before the throne of grace."

Mr. *James Erskine*, who frequently in the course of this year corresponded with Mr. *Wesley*, transmitted this part of Mr. *Robe's* letter to him ; and with a liberality not common to *Scotchmen* at that time, he asks, " Are the points which give the different denominations (to Christians) and from whence proceed separate communions, animosities, evil-speakings, surmises, and, at least, coolness of affection, aptness to misconstrue, slowness to think well of others, stiffness in one's own conceits, and over-valuing one's own opinion, &c. &c. are these points (at least among the far greater part of Protestants) as important, as clearly revealed, and as essential, or as closely connected with the essentials of practical Christianity, as the loving of one another with a pure heart fervently, and not forsaking, much less refusing, the assembling of

\* He means, the Lay-Preachers.

of ourselves *together* as the manner of some was, and and now of almost all is?"—Every candid man will most certainly answer this question in the negative. And it requires no great degree of discernment to perceive, that the narrow party spirit which prevails among most denominations of Christians with regard to communion and church fellowship, even where it is acknowledged that the essential doctrines of the gospel are held fast, is one grand hinderance of brotherly-love, and of a more general diffusion of real experimental religion.

In the latter end of this year, Mr. *Wesley* had expressed a desire to be useful to the *Scots*, and to preach the gospel in *Scotland*. His friend Mr. *James Erskine* wrote to him on the subject, and set before him some of the difficulties he would have to struggle with in the attempt. Mr. *Erskine*, in his letter expresses an ardent wish for union and Christian fellowship among all those of different denominations and opinions, who love the Lord *Jesus Christ*. He reprobates the animosity and bigotry, too prevalent among them under the specious name of zeal for the truth. He then sets before him some of the difficulties he would meet with in his attempting to preach and form societies in *Scotland*, "You have (says he) some sentiments and ways of speaking different from the generality, and almost from all the real Christians of the *Presbyterian* persuasion in *Scotland*, among whom, from my long acquaintance with my countrymen, I cannot help thinking are about five in six of the real Christians there. And to my great regret, of these worthy people, I fear three out of five are wofully bigotted: a vice too natural to us *Scots*, from what our countryman

countryman *George Buchanan*\* wrote was our temper — *Perfervidum Scotorum ingenium*. And some of you *English* have as much of it as any *Scot*; but it is not so national with you, as among the *Scots*. You would have the same prejudices to struggle with among the *Presbyterians*, that Mr. *Whitefield* had, that is, that you are of the church of *England*, and use the *Liturgy*. And you would have more, because of the difference of sentiment, and ways of speaking, as to some doctrines, about which his opinions and expressions were the same as theirs: and though this might make you more acceptable to most of the episcopal persuasion, yet your way of speaking of Christian perfection,

\* *George Buchanan*, the best *Latin* poet of his time, perhaps inferior to none since the *Augustan* age, was born in the village of *Killlearn*, in *Stirlingshire*, *Scotland*, in 1506. The abject poverty in which his father died, might have confined him to toil at the lowest employments of life, if the generosity of an uncle had not assisted him in his education, and enabled him to pursue his studies for two years, at *Paris*. But his uncle dying, he returned to *Scotland*, surrounded with the horrors of indigence. In this extremity, he enlisted for a soldier: but nature had not destined him for a hero, and he was disgusted with the first campaign. *John Major*, then professor of philosophy at *St. Andrews*, hearing of his necessity and of his merit, afforded him a temporary relief. He now studied the subtilties of logic under *John Main*, whom he followed to *Paris*. There, after encountering many difficulties, he was invited to teach grammar in the college of *St. Barbe*. In this occupation he was found by the Earl of *Cassels*, with whom having staid five years at *Paris*, he returned to *Scotland*. He next acted as preceptor to the famous Earl of *Murray*, the natural son of *James V.* But while he was forming this nobleman for public affairs, he found his life was in danger. He had written some beautiful but poignant satires against the *Franciscan Monks*; who in return branded him with the appellation of *Atheist*. Cardinal *Beaton* gave orders to apprehend him, and bribed King *James*, it is said, with a considerable sum to permit his execution. He was seized upon accordingly; and the first genius of the age was about to perish by the halter, or by fire, to satisfy the malignant resentment of men, whose false notions of religion have always made them thirst for the



perfection, and their regard for what they call church order and regularity, would make them fly from you ; for which last the *Presbyterians* would not be so offended with you : and your urging so strict holiness in practice, would recommend you to the *Presbyterians*, but I am afraid not to the *Episcopalians*. And your doctrine of man's utter ruin by the fall, and utter inability to do any thing for his own recovery ; and the necessity of regeneration, and an interest in *Christ* by faith alone that works by love, and produces holiness in heart and life, &c. would be  
sweet

the blood of their opponents. He happily eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped to *England* ; from thence he went to *France*, and afterwards with his friend *Govea*, to *Portugal*. His friend died within the year, and left *Buchanan* exposed to his inveterate enemies, the monks. He was confined to a monastery, till he should learn what these men fancied to be religion. Here they enjoined him to translate the *Psalms of David* into *Latin* verse ; a task which every man of taste knows with what admirable skill and genius he performed.

Having obtained his liberty, he had the offer of a speedy promotion from the King of *Portugal* ; of which however, his aversion to the clergy would not allow him to wait the issue. He spent much of his time in *France*, which seems to have been more agreeable to his taste, than his native country. Queen *Mary*, having determined that he should have the charge of educating her son *James*, the sixth of *Scotland*, and the first of *England*, he was recalled, and provided for, till the young prince should arrive at a proper age. His success as *James's* preceptor is well known. When he was reproached with having made his Majesty a pedant, " It is a wonder (said he) that I have made so much of him."

On the misfortunes which befell Queen *Mary*, he went over to the party of the Earl of *Murray* ; at whose earnest request he was prevailed upon to write his " *Detection*," a work which his greatest admirers have read with regret. After having vied with almost all the more eminent of the *Latin* poets, he contested with *Livy* and *Sallust*, the palm of political eloquence and sagacity. But it is to be lamented, that, like the former of these historians, he was not always careful to preserve himself from the charge of partiality. He died at *Edinburgh*, in 1582. His works were various. An edition of them collected together, was printed at *Edinburgh* in 1704, in 2 vols. folio. See *Encyclop. Brit.*

sweet to the *Presbyterians*, but not to many of the *Episcopalians*.

“ Mr. *Whitefield*, in fewer months than one would have thought could have been done in as many years, overcame the prejudices of the far greatest part of the *Presbyterians*, especially the most religious, only by preaching that faith and holiness you preach ; by meddling with no debates, and by the power of the Lord, signally accompanying his administrations : awakening, converting, and building up almost wherever he went, in places remote from one another. The same evangelical doctrine, of faith, holiness, regeneration, and divine influence, &c. and such blessed divine power on your administrations, managed with Christian prudence and simplicity, and that wisdom from above which is profitable to direct, would likewise overcome the strong prejudices against you and your brother.

“ But Mr. *Whitefield* had one other advantage which you would not have at present. The sermons and other things he had printed, were earnestly read by the *Presbyterians*, and were to their taste ; as well as the sermons, conversations, and prayers among them. And there is hardly any thing printed by your brother and you, in which I fear they would not find some thought or expression that would stumble and offend them.”—Mr. *Wesley* did not go to *Scotland*, till some years after this period.

It was in this year also, that Mr. *Wesley* began a private correspondence with a clergyman of considerable abilities, and probably of high station, if not the highest in the church. He concealed his real name, and only said, as he lived at a considerable distance from *London*, a letter would find him, directed to *John Smith*, at Mr. *Richard Mead's*, the Golden-cross, *Cheapside*.

*Cheapside.* He introduced himself to Mr. *Wesley*, in a very candid and liberal manner; and preserved candour and good temper through the greatest part of their controversy. He introduces himself thus,

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ The labouring to bring all the world to solid inward vital religion, is a work so truly christian and laudable, that I shall ever highly esteem those who attempt this great work, even though they should appear to me to be under some errors in doctrine, some mistakes in their conduct, and some excess in their zeal. You may therefore, expect in me a candid adversary; a contender for truth, and not for victory; one who would be glad to convince you of any error which he apprehends himself to have discovered in you; but who would be abundantly more glad to be convinced of errors in himself. Now, the best way to enable you to set me right wherever I may be wrong, will be by pointing out to you, what I have to object to those works of your's which have fallen into my hands: and for order sake I shall reduce my objections to matter of doctrine, to matter of phraseology, and to matter of fact.”—He then mentions several particulars under the different heads, which he discusses with an open manly freedom, and a good degree of ingenuity and ability. He concludes his first letter thus, “ Having now freely told you what I take to be wrong in you, I shall readily and thankfully attend to whatever you shall point out amiss in me. I am desirous to retract and amend whatever is wrong. To your general design of promoting true religion, I am a hearty friend: nay to your particular scheme and singularities, I am no enemy.—If I come not fully into your scheme, it is not for want of good will,  
but

but for want of evidence and conviction that it is true. I pray God to grant me all needful illumination : and and I pray you to tell me what is lacking on my part."

Mr. *Wesley* received this letter with the same friendliness, and answered it with the same openness and candour with which it was written. "I was determined, says he, in his reply, from the time I received 'your's', to answer it as soon as I should have opportunity. But it was the longer delayed because I could not persuade myself to write at all, till I had leisure to write fully. And this I hope to do now ; though I know you not, not so much as your name. But I take it for granted, that you are a person that fears God, and that speaks the real sentiments of his heart. And on this supposition I shall speak without any suspicion or reserve.

"I am exceedingly obliged by the pains you have taken to point out to me, what you think to be mistakes. It is a truly christian attempt, an act of brotherly-love, which I pray God to repay sevenfold into your bosom. Methinks I can scarce look upon such a person, on One who is a contender for truth, and not for victory, whatever opinion he may entertain of me, as an adversary at all. For what is friendship if I am to account him mine enemy who endeavours to open my eyes or to mend my heart." And in the conclusion of his letter he says, "Smite me friendly and reprove me. It shall be a precious balm ; It shall not break my head. I am deeply convinced that I know nothing yet, as I ought to know. Fourteen years ago, I said with Mr. *Norris*,\* I want heat more than light :

\* *John Norris*, the person here mentioned, was born in 1657, at *Collingborne-Kington*, in *Wiltshire*, where his father was then minister. He was a learned divine, and *Platonic* philosopher. He was educated first at *Winchester-School*, and in 1676, sent to *Oxford*. In 1680, he was elected

light : but now I know not which I want most. Perhaps God will enlighten me by your words. O speak and spare not. At least you will have the thanks and prayers of your obliged and affectionate servant.

JOHN WESLEY."

*John Smith*, for so we must call him for the sake of distinction, prefaces his second letter in the following manner; "I heartily thank you for your very kind and very handsome letter. I have yielded it that attention which I think it justly deserves; and am now set down to give you my thoughts upon it. I shall first most readily take notice of those things wherein I stand corrected, and am gone over to you: and next I shall, with some reluctance, proceed to those in which we seem unfortunately to differ." — But though he yielded up several things to Mr. *Weley*, in whole or in part, yet he pressed him very hard in one or two points of doctrine; and it is believed

electd Fellow of *All-soul*, soon after he had taken his degree of bachelor of arts. In 1684, he commenced master of arts; and the same year opened a correspondence with that learned mystic divine Dr. *Henry More*, of *Christ's-College* in *Cambridge*. He had also a correspondence with the learned Lady *Masham*, Dr. *Cudworth's* daughter, and the ingenious Mrs. *Asel*. In 1691, his distinguished merit procured him the rectory of *Bemerton*, near *Salum*. This living, upwards of two hundred pounds a-year, was a comfortable provision for his family, and the easiness of the parochial duty gave him leisure to pursue his favourite studies. He died in 1711. Mr. *Norris* published two octavo volumes on, "*The Theory of the Ideal World*." In this work he opposed *Locke*, and adorned *Malebranche's* opinion, of seeing all things in God, with all the advantages of style and perspicuity of expression. His philosophical errors may easily be pardoned on account of the general excellence of his writings, especially on subjects of practical divinity, which are universally esteemed. Mr. *Wesley* published extracts from two of his works, "*A Treatise on Christian Prudence*," and "*Reflections on the Conduct of Human Life*." No person can read these without reaping advantage; and young persons ought to study them with diligence and attention.

lieved by Dr. *Whitehead* that his objections had afterwards some influence on Mr. *Wesley's* mind.—“ I am obliged, observes Dr. *Whitehead*, to a friend for the copies of these letters, with liberty to make any use of them I might think proper. There are six on each side, written with ability and spirit. I think Mr. *Wesley's* opinions will admit of more illustration, and clearer evidence, than he has given them in this controversy. He himself afterwards, stated some points to much greater advantage. I should therefore be sorry to see these letters published without occasional remarks, by some person who thoroughly understands the subjects therein discussed. They are too long to be inserted here, as they would fill, at least, one fourth part of the volume.”

Mr. *Wesley*, continued his labours with the same zeal and diligence, through the most distant parts of the kingdom during the year 1746. *Methodism* spread rapidly on every side : the societies flourished, and the people encreased in number, and in knowledge and love of the truth. At this period the Lay-Preachers were not of that class of men who have been blessed with opportunities of improving their minds by an early education, or much reading. In general their knowledge extended not beyond the first principles of religion, and the practical consequences deducible from them ; *Repentance towards God, Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ* ; and the fruits that follow, *Righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*. These were the subjects of their daily discourses, in which there was little variety. But such was the low state of religious knowledge among the people, that they were not prepared for any thing higher. It was absolutely necessary to make them well acquainted with first principles, and to give these principles a practical influence

ence on the heart and life, before they were led any further. In these circumstances the limited knowledge of the preachers, was so far from being an inconvenience, that it was an unspeakable advantage ; as it necessarily confined them to those fundamental points of experimental and practical religion, which were best adapted to the state of the people. Preachers of education, and diversified knowledge, seldom dwell sufficiently in their sermons on these important points ; and hence the Lay-Preachers were far more successful in awakening sinners to a sense of their dangerous state and of bringing them to a saving knowledge of *Christ*, than other Preachers of much more cultivated minds. To enforce the necessity of repentance, and of seeking salvation by grace alone through a Redeemer, the Preacher would often draw a picture of human nature in such strong and natural colours, that every one who heard him saw his own likeness in it, and was ready to say, “ he hath shewn me all that was in my heart.” The effect was surprising. The people found themselves under every discourse, emerging out of the thickest darkness into a region of light ; the blaze of which being suddenly poured in upon them, gave exquisite pain at first, but soon shewed them the way to peace and consolation. Mr. *Wesley* foresaw, that as knowledge was increased among the people, it ought to be increased in the same or even in a greater proportion among the Preachers ; otherwise they would become less useful, and in the end might be despised. He therefore began to think of a collection of such books in the *English* language, as might forward their improvement in treating of the various branches of practical divinity. He seemed conscious, that the plan of his own education, and the prejudices he had early imbibed against the non-conformists

formists of the last century, had shut him out from the knowledge of many writings which possibly might be very useful on this occasion. This induced him to request Dr. *Doddridge*, with whom he had a friendly correspondence, to give him a list of such books as he might think proper for the improvement of young preachers. March 15, the Doctor wrote to him, apologising for the delay in complying with his request. "I am quite grieved, says he, and ashamed, that any hurry, public or private, should have prevented my answering your very obliging letter from *Newcastle*; especially as it has a face of disrespect, where I am sure I ought to express the very reverse, if I would do justice either to you, or my own heart. But you have been used to forgive greater injuries.

"I have been reading (I will not pretend to tell you with what strong emotion) the fourth edition of *your Further Appeals*: concerning which, I shall only say, That I have written upon the Title Page, 'How forcible are RIGHT WORDS.' I am daily hurried by my Printer, to finish the third volume of my *Family Expositor*. And I have unwillingly, a secular affair on my hands, in consequence of a guardianship, which calls me away from my usual business for some days next week: on which account I must beg your patience for a little while longer, as to the list of books you desire me to send you. But if God permit, you shall be sure to have it in a few weeks.

"I lately published a *Thanksgiving Sermon*, for the retreat of the rebels, which if you think worth calling for, at Mr. *Waugh's*, at the *Turk's-Head* in *Gracechurch-Street*, I shall desire you to accept. I was willing to greet the first openings of mercy; and so much the rather, as I think with Lord *Somerville*, who first made the reflection in one of his letters; that,



that, had the blow at *Falkirk* been pursued, our whole army had been destroyed.—The wisest and best of men, I know, agree to fear: oh! that they could also agree in the efforts to save! I trust I can call God to record on my soul, that to bring sinners to believe in *Christ*, and universally to obey him from a principle of grateful love, is the reigning desire of my heart, and has been the main business of my life. But alas, that it is so unsuccessful a labour! Yet, God knows, that could I have foreseen only the tenth part of that little success I seem to have had, I would have preferred the ministry, with ten times the labours and sorrows I have gone through in it, to any other employment or situation in life. I shall not forget Colonel *Gardiner's* words, speaking of a much despised and persecuted, but very useful Minister, ‘I had rather be that man, than Emperor of the world!’

“But I must conclude. May God, even your own God, continue to pour down his blessings on your head, heart, and labours; and may he sometimes lead you to remember in your prayers,

“Revered and dear Sir,

“Your affectionate Brother and Servant,

“P. DODDRIDGE.

P. S. “I presume the list you require is chiefly *Theological*. Perhaps my desire of making it too particular, has hindered me from settling about it, till I had a leisure time, which I have not yet found. But under the impression your book made upon me, I could not delay writing one post longer. Let me know in one word, how you do, what your success is, and what your apprehensions are. I fear we must have some hot flame to melt us.”

The

The reader will recollect, that this letter was written in the time of the last rebellion, when the nation was thrown into the greatest consternation. June 18, Dr. *Doddridge* sent the list of books, which Mr. *Wesley* had requested,\* and the next day wrote to him as follows: “I send this by way of *Postscript*, to thank you for the entertaining account you gave me of that very extraordinary turn which affairs took at the battle of *Falkirk*.—I perceive our rebel enemies were as confident of victory as possible, just before the action at *Culloden*, which proved so fatal to them. A friend of mine from thence, brings word, that just as the armies joined, an officer was sent back to make proclamation at the Market-Cross, at *Inverness*, that every householder should bake a bushel of bread, that it might be ready to refresh the prince’s victorious army, on its return; which was required on pain of Military execution. The consequence of this was, that our army found much better provision for their refreshment after the fatigue of that glorious day, than they could otherwise have done. I have also reason to believe, that a day or two before this action, Lord *Kilmarnock*, having quartered himself and some of his chief officers, at a minister’s house of the *Scotch* established church, in those parts, obliged the master of the house and his eldest son, to wait upon them at table, and in a profane manner undertook to say grace himself; which was, ‘May God d—n and confound all Presbyterian parsons, their wives, and children and families, henceforth and for evermore. Amen.’†—It is not to be

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\* The letter is too long to be inserted here: it is printed in the first volume of the *Arminian Magazine*.

† After the rebels were dispersed, Lord *Kilmarnock* was apprehended, deprived of all his honours, and executed on the scaffold; but not before he had well deserved it. His son who served in the King’s army, afterwards succeeded to the earldom of *Errol*, a title much more ancient and

wondered, that such a deliverance after such circumstances as these, should make a strong impression on the mind of ministers and people in general, which I am assured it does. I heartily pray God the impression may be lasting, and produce that reformation which is so much needed among them as well as amongst us.

“ I shall not be at all surprised, if the next winter should open upon us a much more afflictive scene than the last, if we will not be reformed by such judgments and deliverances as these. Yet I think with you, dear Sir, that God will not make a full end of us. I look upon every sinner converted from the error of his ways, by the power of God working in his gospel, as a token for good, that we shall not be utterly forsaken.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

“ P. DODDRIDGE.”

In the latter end of December, Mr. *Wesley* received the following observations in a letter from a friend. No doubt the writer thought them necessary at that time, and they will not be out of season at present. “ The knowledge and understanding of the scriptures of Truth, says he, I take to be of the last importance, and is what real Christians need as much to have their attention awakened unto, as the generality of those who are called by the christian name need to be taught that they are dead while they have a name to live.

“ The understanding of the true meaning and intent of the Scriptures, is understanding the mind of God in every place. And he who opens that does more,  
and

and so to speak, gives more opportunity unto the Spirit of God to operate in the heart by his own word, than he who says abundance of serious things which are not contained in the subject (the text) he discourses from. In the other way, a man may preach numbers of years unto a congregation, and never explain the direct meaning of the Holy Spirit in one scripture: meanwhile he is not encreasing their knowledge in the word of God.—The word of God is that by which the Holy Ghost influences the heart of a believer; and I cannot think it sufficient for the carrying on of that work, that Christians be taught a few general truths, which possibly by frequent teaching they may acquire some distinct notion of, without ever seeing them in the scripture, in their genuine beauty and dress. And do not all foolish and injudicious clamours about *orthodoxy* and *heresy*, arise from this?

“ I apprehend the scriptures contain a more glorious, beautiful, and various display of the eternal God, than the inconceivable variety in nature gives us of this creation, which is his work. And I would have all Christians search the scriptures, and study God there, with as much assiduity as the naturalists do nature in his material works. What infinite reward of enjoyment would arise from thence?—It is true indeed, a head-knowledge of these things is nothing. The spirit of God must make the heart sensible of all that our understandings can comprehend in revelation. But these are two distinct things which God hath joined together: even as the power of God in raising up *Christ* from the dead, is one thing to be understood and believed from the scriptures; and the quickening of a sinner, is a work actually performed in the heart by the spirit of *Christ*, but is inseparable from the faith of the former. This is it which makes the understand-

ing I speak of so necessary ; for without it a person shall never be able to judge by the word of God, of what passes within himself : for it is the only standard by which to try the spirits, and to prove every man's work.

“ Serious people are generally in danger of regarding only what they feel in themselves, when their affections are lively and they receive great consolation from a belief of the love of God in *Christ*. They take that for the knowledge of God, which is only the effect of it. Consequently they are in hazard of seeking the knowledge of God in their own feelings, and of measuring their knowledge by them ; not attending, that our nourishment is not from within ourselves, but comes from without. It is God's whole glory displayed in revelation (by *Christ*) communicated by the Holy Ghost, received by faith, which ought to be the Christian's daily bread.”

These observations are certainly of importance to those who know any thing of experimental religion : who are desirous to encrease in the knowledge and love of God, and to have their experience built on a foundation that cannot be shaken. The gentleman who made them, had mentioned his thoughts on the subject to Mr. *Wesley* in conversation, who desired him to put them down in writing more at length, which gave birth to the letter of which the above is an abstract.

Mr. *Wesley* continued his frequent visits to the most distant parts of the kingdom. No season of the year, no change of weather, could either prevent or retard his journeys. He generally preached two or three times every day, and regulated the societies wherever he came. His whole heart was in the work, and his fixed resolution surmounted every difficulty. In February

bruary 1747, being in *Forkshire*, he met with a clergyman, who told him, some of the preachers had frequently preached in his parish; and his judgment was, 1. That their preaching had done some good, but more harm. Because 2. Those who had attended it, had only turned from one wickedness to another; they had only exchanged sabbath-breaking, swearing, or drunkenness, for slandering, backbiting, and evil-speaking: and 3. Those who did not attend it, were provoked hereby to return evil for evil. So that the former were, in effect, no better, the latter worse than before,

“ The same objection, in substance, says *Mr. Wesley*, has been made in most other parts of *England*. It therefore deserves a serious answer, which will equally hold in all places. It is allowed, 1. That our preaching has done some good; common swearers, sabbath-breakers, drunkards, thieves, fornicators, having been reclaimed from those outward sins. But it is affirmed, 2. That it has done more harm; the persons so reclaimed only changing one wickedness for another: and their neighbours being so provoked thereby, as to become worse than they were before.

“ Those who have left their outward sins, you affirm, have only changed drunkenness or sabbath-breaking, for backbiting or evil-speaking. I answer, if you affirm this of them all, it is notoriously false: many we can name, who left cursing, swearing, backbiting, drunkenness, and evil speaking altogether, and who are to this day just as fearful of slandering, as they are of cursing or swearing. And if some are not yet enough aware of this snare of the Devil, we may hope they will be ere long. Meantime bless God for what he has done, and pray that he would deliver them from this death also.

“ You

“ You affirm further, ‘ That their neighbours are provoked hereby, to return evil for evil ; and so while the former are no better the latter are worse than they were before.’

“ I answer, 1. These are worse than they were before.’ But why ? Because they do fresh *despite to the spirit of grace* : because they *despise that long-suffering love of God* which would lead them, as it does their neighbours, to repentance. And in laying the blame of this on those who will *no longer run with them to the same excess of riot*, they only fulfil the scriptures, and fill up the measure of their own iniquity.

“ I answer, 2. There is still no proportion at all between the good on the one hand, and the harm on the other : for they who reject the goodness of God, were servants of the Devil before ; and they are but servants of the Devil still. But they who accept it, are brought from the power of Satan, to serve the living and true God.”

In April, Mr. *Wesley*, on his return from the North, spent an hour with the same clergyman, and pressed him to make good his assertion, that the preaching of the *Methodists* had done more harm than good. This he did not choose to pursue ; but enlarged on the harm it might occasion in succeeding generations. Mr. *Wesley* adds, “ I cannot see the force of this argument. I dare not neglect the doing certain present good, for fear of some probable ill consequences, in the succeeding century.”

June 4. Mr. *Wesley* wrote down the following instructions for the stewards of the society in *London*.

1. “ You are to be men full of the Holy Ghost, and of wisdom ; that ye may do all things in a manner acceptable to God.—2. You are to be present every Tuesday and Thursday morning, in order to transact the

the temporal affairs of the society.—3. You are to begin and end every meeting with earnest prayer to God, for a blessing on all your undertakings.—4. You are to produce your accounts the first Tuesday in every month, that they may be transcribed into the ledger.—5. You are to take it in turn month by month to be chairman. The chairman is to see that all the rules be punctually observed, and immediately to check him who breaks any of them.—6. You are to do nothing without the consent of the minister, either actually had, or reasonably presumed.—7. You are to consider whenever you meet, ‘God is here.’ Therefore, be serious. Utter no trifling word. Speak as in his presence, and to the glory of his great name.—8. When any thing is debated, let one at once stand up and speak, the rest giving attention. And let him speak just loud enough to be heard, in love and in the spirit of meekness.—9. You are continually to pray and endeavour, that a holy harmony of soul may in all things subsist among you: that in every step, you may keep the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace.—10. In all debates, you are to watch over your spirits, avoiding as fire, all clamour and contention, being *swift to hear, slow to speak*; in honour every man preferring another before himself.—11. If you cannot relieve, do not grieve the poor. Give them soft words if nothing else. Abstain from either sour looks or harsh words. Let them be glad to come, even though they should go empty away. Put yourselves in the place of every poor man. And deal with them as you would God should deal with you.

“These instructions, we whose names are underwritten (being the present stewards of the society in London) do heartily receive, and earnestly desire to conform to. In witness whereof, we have set our hands.



hands.—N. B. If any steward shall break any of the preceding rules after having been thrice admonished by the chairman (whereof notice is to be immediately given to the minister) he is no longer steward.”

June 15. The fourth Conference began, and ended on Saturday the 20th. The minutes of the several conferences were now collected together, and printed : a summary of which, respecting doctrines agreed upon, is here subjoined.

After some time spent in prayer at the first *Conference*, the design of the meeting was proposed ; namely to consider, 1. What to teach ; 2. How to teach ; and, 3. What to do ? That is, how to regulate their doctrine, discipline, and practice. The meeting being thus opened, they proceeded as follows.

\*“ It is desired, that all things be considered as in the immediate presence of God : that we may meet with a single eye, and as little children who have every thing to learn.

“ That every point which is proposed, may be examined to the foundation : that every person may speak freely whatever is in his heart : and that every question which may arise, should be thoroughly debated and settled. Meantime let us all pray for a willingness to receive light ; to know of every doctrine, whether it be of God.

“ Question 1. How may the time of this Conference, be made more eminently a time of watching unto prayer ?

“ Ans. 1. While we are conversing, let us have an especial care to set God always before us. 2. In the intermediate hours, let us visit none but the sick, and spend all the time that remains in retirement. 3. Let us give ourselves to prayer for one another, and for a blessing on this our labour.

“ Q. 2.

\* The Publisher, desirous of rendering this Edition as interesting as possible, has deemed it expedient to insert such parts of the Work as have been transcribed from Letters and other Documents, in a smaller type than that used in the previous part of this History ; his motive, he hopes, must appear obvious ; viz. to embody with this Publication, every well authenticated matter connected with Methodism, necessary to be recorded, so not to extend the proposed quantity of Letter-press.

“ Q. 2. How far does each of us agree, to submit to the judgment of the majority ?

“ A. In speculative things, each can only submit so far as his judgment shall be convinced : in every practical point, each will submit so far as he can without wounding his conscience.

“ Q. 3. Can a Christian submit any further than this, to any man, or number of men upon earth ?

“ A. It is plain he cannot, either to Bishop, Convocation or general Council. And this is that general principle of private judgment, on which all the Reformers proceeded ; ‘ Every man must judge for himself, because every man must give an account of himself to God.’

They now proceeded to consider the doctrine of Justification : the questions relating to which, and the substance of the answers given thereto, were as follows :

I. Q. 1. \* What is it to be justified ?

A. “ To be pardoned and received into God’s favour ; into such a state, that if we continue therein, we shall be finally saved.

Q. 2. “ Is faith the condition of justification ?

A. “ Yes ; for every one who believeth not is condemned ; and every one who believes is justified.

Q. 3. “ But must not repentance and works meet for repentance go before this faith ?

A. “ Without doubt : if by repentance you mean conviction of sin ; and by works meet for repentance, obeying God as far as we can, forgiving our brother, leaving off from evil, doing good and using his ordinances according to the power we have received.

Q. “ What is Faith ?

A. “ Faith in general is a divine supernatural *elenchos* of things not seen ; *i. e.* of past, future or spiritual things : it is a spiritual view of God and the things of God.

“ First, a sinner is convinced by the Holy Ghost, Christ loved me and gave himself for me.”—This is that faith by which he is justified or pardoned, the moment he receives it. Immediately the same spirit bears witness, “ Thou art pardoned :

pardoned: thou hast redemption in his blood."—And this is saying faith, whereby the love of God is shed abroad in his heart.

Q. 5. "Have all Christians this faith? May not a man be justified and not know it?"

A. "That all true Christians have such a faith as implies an assurance of God's love, appears from *Rom. viii. 15. Eph. iv. 32. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Heb. viii. 10. 1 John iv. 10. v. 19.* And that no man can be justified and not know it, appears further from the nature of the thing. For faith after repentance is ease after pain, rest after toil, light after darkness. It appears also from the immediate, as well as distant fruits thereof.

Q. 6. "But may not a man go to heaven without it?"

A. "It does not appear from holy writ that a man who has heard the Gospel can: (*Mark xvi. 16.*) whatever a Heathen may do. *Rom. ii. 14.*

Q. 7. "What are the immediate fruits of justifying faith?"

A. "Peace, joy, love, power over all outward sin, and power to keep down inward sin."

Q. 8. "Does any one believe, who has not the witness in himself, or any longer than he sees, loves, and obeys God?"

A. "We apprehend not; *seeing God* being the very essence of faith; love and obedience being the inseparable properties of it.

Q. 9. "What sins are consistent with justifying faith?"

A. "*No wilful sin.* If a believer *wilfully sins*, he casts away his faith. Neither is it possible he should have *justifying faith* again, without previously repenting.

Q. 10. "Must every believer come into a state of doubt or fear, or darkness? Will he do so, unless by ignorance or unfaithfulness? Does God otherwise withdraw himself?"

A. "It is certain, a believer, *need* never again come into condemnation. It seems, he need not come into a state of doubt or fear, or darkness: and that (ordinarily at least) he *will* not, unless by ignorance or unfaithfulness. Yet it is true, that the first joy does seldom last long: that it is commonly followed by doubts and fears; and that God frequently permits

permits great heaviness, before any large manifestation of himself.

Q. 11. "Are works necessary to the continuance of faith?"

A. "Without doubt; for a man may forfeit the free gift of God, either by sins of omission or commission.

Q. 12. "Can faith be lost, but for want of works?"

A. "It cannot but through disobedience.

Q. 13. "How is faith *made perfect by works*?"

A. "The more we exert our faith the more it is increased. To him that hath shall be given.

Q. 14. "*St. Paul says, Abraham was not justified by works. St. James, he was justified by works.* Do they not contradict each other?"

A. "No: 1. Because they do not speak of the same justification. *St. Paul* speaks of that justification which was when *Abraham* was seventy-five years old, above twenty years before *Isaac* was born. *St. James* of that justification which was when he offered up *Isaac* on the altar.

2dly. "Because they do not speak of the same works, *St. Paul* speaking of works that precede faith: *St. James* of works that spring from it.

Q. 15. "In what sense is *Adam's* sin imputed to all mankind?"

A. "In *Adam* all die, *i. e.* 1. Our bodies then became mortal. 2. Our souls died, *i. e.* were disunited from God. And hence, 3. We are all born with a sinful devilish nature: by reason whereof, 4. We are children of wrath, liable to death eternal. *Rom. v. 18. Eph. ii. 3.*

Q. 16. "In what sense is the righteousness of Christ imputed to all mankind, or to believers?"

A. "We do not find it expressly affirmed in scripture, that God imputes the righteousness of Christ to any. Although we do find, that faith is imputed to us for righteousness.

"That text, *As by one man's disobedience all men were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, all were made righteous*, we conceive means, by the merits of Christ, all men are cleared from the guilt of *Adam's* actual sin.

" We conceive further, That through the obedience and death of *Christ*, 1. The bodies of all men become immortal after the resurrection. 2. Their souls receive a capacity of spiritual life; and, 3. An actual spark or seed thereof. 4. All believers become children of grace, reconciled to God, and 5. made partakers of the divine nature.

Q. 17. " Have we not then unawares leaned too much towards *Calvinism* ?

A. " We are afraid we have.

Q. 18. " Have we not also leaned towards *Antinomianism* ?

A. " We are afraid we have.

Q. 19. " What is *Antinomianism* ?

A. " The doctrine which makes void the law through faith.

Q. 20. " What are the main pillars hereof ?

A. 1. " That *Christ* abolished the moral law. 2. That therefore Christians are not obliged to observe it. 3. That one branch of Christian liberty, is liberty from obeying the commandments of God. 4. That it is bondage, to do a thing, because it is commanded, or forbear it because it is forbidden. 5. That a believer is not *obliged* to use the ordinances of God or to do good works. 6. That a preacher ought not to exhort to good works: not unbelievers, because it is hurtful; not believers, because it is needless.

Q. 21. " What was the occasion of *St. Paul's* writing his epistle to the *Galatians* ?

A. " The coming of certain men amongst the *Galatians*, who taught, *except ye be circumcised and keep the law of Moses ye cannot be saved.*

Q. 22. " What is his main design therein ?

A. " To prove, 1. That no man can be justified or saved by the works of the law, either moral or ritual. 2. That every believer is justified by faith in *Christ* without the works of the law.

Q. 23. " What does he mean by *the Works of the law* ? *Gal. ii. 16, &c.*

A. " All

A. "All works which do not spring from faith in *Christ*.

Q. 24. "What by being *under the law*. *Gal. iii. 23*?

A. "Under the *Mosaic* dispensation.

Q. 25. "What law has *Christ* abolished?

A. "The ritual law of *Moses*.

Q. 26. "What is meant by *liberty*? *Gal. v. 1*.

A. "Liberty, 1. From the law; 2. From sin."

II. Q. 1. "How comes what is written on this subject\* to be so intricate and obscure? Is this obscurity from the nature of the thing itself? Or, from the fault or weakness of those who have generally treated of it?

A. "We apprehend this obscurity does not arise from the nature of the subject: but partly from the extreme warmth of most writers who have treated of it.

Q. 2. "We affirm faith in *Christ* is the sole condition of justification. But does not repentance go before that faith? Yea, and (supposing there be opportunity for them) fruits or works meet for repentance?

A. "Without doubt they do.

Q. 3. "How then can we deny them to be *conditions* of justification? Is not this a mere strife of words?

A. "It seems not, though it has been grievously abused. But so the abuse cease, let the use remain.

Q. 4. "Shall we read over together Mr. *Baxter's* aphorisms concerning justification?

A. "By all means: which were accordingly read. And it was desired, that each person present would in the afternoon consult the scriptures cited therein, and bring what objections might occur the next morning.

Q. 5. "Is an assurance of God's pardoning love absolutely necessary to our being in his favour? Or may there possibly be some exempt cases?

A. "We dare not positively say there are not.

Q. 6. "Is such an assurance absolutely necessary to inward and outward holiness?

A. "To inward, we apprehend it is: to outward holiness, we incline to think it is not.

Q. 7.

\* i. e. On Justification.

Q. 7. "Is it indispensably necessary to final salvation?"

A. "Love hopeth all things. We know not how far any may fall under the case of invincible ignorance.

Q. 8. "But what can we say of one of our own society, who dies without it, as *J. W.* at *London*?"

A. "It may possibly be an exempt case (if the fact was really so.) But we determine nothing. We leave his soul in the hands of him that made it.

Q. 9. "Does a man believe any longer than he sees a reconciled God?"

A. "We conceive not. But we allow there may be infinite degrees in seeing God: even as many as there are between him that sees the sun, when it shines on his eye-lids closed, and him who stands with his eyes wide open in the full blaze of his beams.

Q. 10. "Does a man believe any longer than he loves God?"

A. "In no wise. For neither circumcision or uncircumcision avails, without faith working by love.

Q. 11. "Have we duly considered the case of *Cornelius*? Was not he in the favour of God when his prayers and alms came up for a memorial before God? i. e. before he believed in Christ?"

A. "It does seem that he was, in some degree. But we speak not of those who have not heard the gospel.

Q. 12. "But were those works of his *splendid sins*?"

A. "No; nor were they *done without the Grace of Christ*.

Q. 13. "How then can we maintain, that all works done before we have a sense of the pardoning love of God, are sin? And, as such, an abomination to him?"

A. "The works of him who has heard the gospel, and does not believe, are not done as God hath *willed and commanded them to be done*. And yet we know not how to say, that they are an abomination to the Lord in him who feareth God, and from that principle, does the best he can.

Q. 14. "Seeing there is so much difficulty in this subject, can we deal too tenderly with them that oppose us?"

A. "We cannot; unless we were to give up any part of the truth of God.

Q. 15.

Q. 15. "Is a believer constrained to obey God?"

A. "At first he often is. The love of *Christ* constraineth him. After this, he *may* obey, or he may not; no constraint being laid upon him.

Q. 16. "Can faith be lost but through disobedience?"

A. "It cannot. A believer first inwardly disobeys, inclines to sin with his heart: then his intercourse with God is cut off, *i. e.* his faith is lost. And after this, he may fall into outward sin, being now weak, and like another man.

Q. 17. "How can such an one recover faith?"

A. "By repenting and doing the first Works. *Rev.* ii. 5.

Q. 18. "Whence is it that so great a majority of those who believe, fall more or less into doubt or fear?"

A. "Chiefly from their own ignorance or unfaithfulness: often from their not watching unto prayer: perhaps from some defect or want of the power of God in the preaching they hear.

Q. 19. "Is there not a defect in us? Do we preach as we did at first? Have we not changed our doctrines?"

A. 1. "At first we preached almost wholly to unbelievers. To those therefore we spake almost continually, of remission of sins through the death of *Christ*, and the nature of faith in his blood. And so we do still, among those who need to be taught the first elements of the gospel of *Christ*.

2. "But those in whom the foundation is already laid, we exhort to go on to perfection: which we did not see so clearly at first; although we occasionally spoke of it from the beginning.

3. "Yet we now preach, and that continually, faith in *Christ*, as the prophet, priest, and king, at least, as clearly, as strongly, and as fully as we did six years ago.

Q. 20. "Do not some of our assistants preach too much of the wrath, and too little of the love of God?"

A. "We fear they have leaned to that extreme; and hence some of their hearers may have lost the joy of faith.

Q. 21.



Q. 21. "Need we ever preach the terrors of the Lord to those who know they are accepted of him?"

A. "No; it is folly so to do: for love is to them the strongest of all motives.

Q. 22. "Do we ordinarily represent a justified state so great and happy as it is?"

A. "Perhaps not. A believer, walking in the light, is inexpressibly great and happy.

Q. 23. "Should we not have a care of depreciating justification, in order to exalt the state of full sanctification?"

A. "Undoubtedly we should beware of this: for one may insensibly slide into it.

Q. 24. "How shall we effectually avoid it?"

A. "When we are going to speak of entire sanctification, let us first describe the blessings of a justified state, as strongly as possible.

Q. 25. "Does not the truth of the gospel lie very near both to *Calvinism* and *Antinomianism*?"

A. "Indeed it does: as it were within a hair's breadth. So that it is altogether foolish and sinful, because we do not altogether agree either with one or the other, to run from them as far as ever we can.

Q. 26. "Wherein may we come to the very edge of *Calvinism*?"

A. "In ascribing all good to the free grace of God: 2. In denying all natural free will, and all power antecedent to grace; and 3. In excluding all merit from man; even for what he has or does by the grace of God.

Q. 27. "Wherein may we come to the edge of *Antinomianism*?"

A. "1. In exalting the merits and love of Christ. 2. In rejoicing evermore.

Q. 28. "Does faith supersede (set aside the necessity of) holiness or good works?"

A. "In no wise. So far from it that it implies both, as a cause does its effects."

III. Q. 1. "Can an unbeliever (whatever he be in other respects) challenge any thing of God's justice?"

A. "Absolutely

A. "Absolutely nothing but hell. And this is a point which we cannot too much insist on.

Q. 2. "Do we empty men of their own righteousness, as we did at first? Do we sufficiently labour, when they begin to be convinced of sin, to take away all they lean upon? Should we not then endeavour with all our might to overturn their false foundations?

A. "This was at first one of our principal points. And it ought to be so still. For, till all other foundations are overturned, they can not build upon *Christ*?

Q. 3. "Did we not *then* purposely throw them into convictions? Into strong sorrow and fear? Nay, did we not strive to make them inconsolable? Refusing to be comforted?

A. "We did. And so we should do still. For the stronger the conviction, the speedier is the deliverance. And none so soon receive the peace of God, as those who steadily refuse all other comfort.

Q. 4. "What is sincerity?

A. "Willingness to know and do the whole will of God. The lowest species thereof seems to be *faithfulness in that which is little*.

Q. 5. "Has God any regard to man's sincerity?

A. "So far, that no man in any state can possibly please God without it: neither indeed in any moment wherein he is not sincere.

Q. 6. "But can it be conceived that God has any regard to the sincerity of an unbeliever?

A. "Yes, so much, that if he perseveres therein, God will infallibly give him faith.

Q. 7. "What regard may we conceive him to have, to the sincerity of a believer?

A. "So much, that in every sincere believer he fulfils all the great and precious promises.

Q. 8. "Whom do you term a *sincere believer*?

A. "One that walks in the light, as God is in the light.

Q. 9. "Is sincerity the same with a *single eye*?

A. "Not altogether: the latter refers to our intention; the former to our will or desires.

Q. 10. "Is it not all in all?"

A. "All will follow persevering sincerity. God gives every thing with it; nothing without it.

Q. 11. "Are not then sincerity and faith equivalent terms?"

A. "By no means. It is at least as nearly related to works as it is to faith. For example; Who is sincere before he believes? He that then does all he can: he that, according to the power he has received, brings forth *fruits meet for repentance*. Who is sincere after he believes? He that, from a sense of God's love, is zealous of all good works.

Q. 12. "Is not sincerity what *St. Paul* terms a willing mind? *ἡ προθυμία*? 2 Cor. viii. 12.

A. "Yes: if that word be taken in a general sense. For it is a constant disposition to use all the grace given.

Q. 13. "But do we not then set sincerity on a level with faith?"

A. "No. For we allow a man may be sincere, and not be justified, as he may be penitent, and not be justified; (not as yet) but he cannot have faith, and not be justified. The very moment he believes he is justified.

Q. 14. "But do we not give up faith, and put sincerity in its place, as the condition of our acceptance with God?"

A. "We believe it is one condition of our acceptance, as repentance likewise is. And we believe it a condition of our continuing in a state of acceptance. Yet we do not put it in the place of faith. It is by faith the merits of *Christ* are applied to my soul. But if I am not sincere, they are not applied.

Q. 15. "Is not this that *going about to establish your own righteousness*, whereof *St. Paul* speaks, *Rom. x. 4*.

A. "St. Paul there manifestly speaks of unbelievers, who sought to be accepted for the sake of their own righteousness. We do not seek to be accepted for the sake of our sincerity; but through the merits of *Christ* alone. Indeed, so long as any man believes, he cannot go about (in *St. Paul's* sense) to *establish his own righteousness*.

Q. 16.

Q. 16. " But do you consider, that we are under the covenant of grace? And that the covenant of works is now abolished?

A. " All mankind were under the covenant of grace, from the very hour that the original promise was made. If by the covenant of works you mean, that of unsinning obedience made with *Adam* before the fall: no man, but *Adam*, was ever under that covenant: for it was abolished before *Cain* was born. Yet it is not so abolished, but that it will stand, in a measure, even to the end of the world, *i. e.* if we *do this*, we shall live; if not, we shall die eternally: if we do well, we shall live with God in glory: if evil, we shall die the second death. For every man shall be judged in that day, and rewarded *according to his works*.

Q. 17. " What means then, *to him that believeth, his faith is counted for righteousness*?

A. " That God forgives him that is unrighteous as soon as he believes, accepting his faith instead of perfect righteousness. But then observe, universal righteousness follows, though it did not precede faith.

Q. 18. " But is faith thus *counted to us for righteousness*, at whatsoever time we believe?

A. " Yes. In whatsoever moment we believe, all our past sins vanish away. They are as though they had never been, and we stand clear in the sight of God.

Q. 19. " Are not the assurance of faith, the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the revelation of *Christ* in us, terms nearly of the same import?

A. " He that denies one of them, must deny all; they are so closely connected together.

Q. 20. " Are they ordinarily, where the pure gospel is preached, essential to our acceptance?

A. " Undoubtedly they are; and as such, to be insisted on, in the strongest terms.

Q. 21. " Is not the whole dispute of salvation by faith, or by works, a mere *strife of words*?

A. " In asserting salvation by faith, we mean this; 1. That pardon (salvation begun) is received by faith, producing works. 2. That holiness (salvation continued) is faith working by love: 3. That heaven (salvation finished) is the reward of this faith. .

" If you who assert salvation by works, or by faith and works, mean the same thing (understanding by faith, the revelation of *Christ* in us, by salvation, pardon, holiness, glory) we will not strive with you at all. If you do not, this is not a *strife of words*: but the very vitals, the essence of Christianity is the thing in question.

Q. 22. " Wherein does our doctrine now differ from that we preached when at *Oxford*?

A. " Chiefly in these two points: 1. We then knew nothing of that righteousness of faith, in justification; nor 2. Of the nature of faith itself, as implying consciousness of pardon.

Q. 23. " May not some degree of the love of God, go before a distinct sense of justification?

A. " We believe it may.

Q. 24. " Can any degree of sanctification or holiness?

A. " Many degrees of outward holiness may: yea, and some degree of meekness, and several other tempers which would be branches of Christian holiness, but that they do not spring from Christian principles. For the abiding love of God cannot spring, but from faith in a pardoning God. And no true Christian holiness can exist, without that love of God for its foundation.

Q. 25. " Is every man, as soon as he believes, a new creature, sanctified, pure in heart? Has he then a new heart? Does *Christ* dwell therein? And is he a temple of the Holy Ghost?

A. " All these things may be affirmed of every believer, in a true sense. Let us not therefore contradict those who maintain it. Why should we contend about words?

IV. Q. 1. "How much is allowed by our brethren who differ from us, with regard to entire sanctification?"

A. "They grant, 1. That every one must be entirely sanctified, in the article of death:

"2. That till then, a believer daily grows in grace, comes nearer and nearer to perfection.

"3. That we ought to be continually pressing after this, and to exhort all others so to do.

Q. 2. "What do we allow them?"

A. "We grant, 1. That many of those who have died in the faith, yea, the greater part of those we have known, were not sanctified throughout, not made perfect in love, till a little before death;

"2. That the term, 'sanctified' is continually applied by *St. Paul*, to all that were justified, were true believers:

"3. That by this term alone, he rarely (if ever) means, saved from all sin:

"4. That consequently, it is not proper to use it in this sense, without adding the words 'wholly, entirely,' or the like:

"5. That the inspired writers almost continually speak of, or to those who were justified; but very rarely, either of, or to those, who were wholly sanctified:

"6. That consequently, it behoves us to speak in public almost continually of the state of justification: but more rarely, at least in full and explicit terms, concerning entire sanctification.

Q. 3. "What then is the point wherein we divide?"

A. "It is this: Whether we should expect to be saved from all sin, before the article of death?"

Q. 4. "Is there any clear scripture promise of this? That God will save us from *all* sin?"

A. "There is. *Psalm cxxx. 8. He shall redeem Israel from all his sins.*

"This is more largely expressed in the prophecy of *Ezekiel*: *Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean; from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will*

*will I cleanse you—I will also save you from all your uncleannesses, c. xxxvi. v. 25, 29. No promise can be more clear. And to this the apostle plainly refers in that exhortation, Having these promises, let us cleanse ourselves, from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Equally clear and express is that ancient promise, The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul. Deut. xxx. 6.*

Q. 5. “But does any assertion answerable to this, occur in the New Testament?”

A. “There does, and that laid down in the plainest terms. So *St. John* iii. 8. *For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil.* The works of the Devil, without any limitation or restriction: but all sin is the work of the Devil. Parallel to which is that assertion of *St. Paul*, *Eph. v. 25, 27. Christ loved the church and gave himself for it—that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish.*

“And to same effect is his assertion in the viiith of the *Romans* (v. 3, 4.) *God sent his Son—that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, walking not after the flesh but after the spirit.*

Q. 6. “Does the New Testament afford any further ground, for expecting to be saved from all sin?”

A. “Undoubtedly it does, both in those prayers and commands which are equivalent to the strongest assertions.

Q. 7. “What prayers do you mean?”

A. “Prayers for entire sanctification; which, were there no such thing, would be mere mockery of God. Such, in particular, are 1. *Deliver us from evil; or rather, from the evil one.* Now when this is done, when we are delivered from all evil, there can be no sin remaining. 2. *Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: that they all may be one, as thou*  
*Father*

*Father are in me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us: I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one. John xvii. 20, 21, 23.*

“ 3. *I bow my knees unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—that he would grant you—that ye being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth and length and height: and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God. Eph. iii. 14, 16.—19.*  
 4. *The very God of Peace sanctify you wholly. And I pray God, your whole spirit, soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Thess. v. 23.*

Q. 8. “ What command is there to the same effect?

A. “ *Be ye perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect. Matt. vi. ult.*

“ 2. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. Matt. xxii. 37.* But if the love of God fill all the heart, there can be no sin there.

Q. 9. “ But how does it appear, that this is to be done before the article of death?

A. “ First, from the very nature of a command, which is not given to the dead, but to the living.

“ Therefore, *Thou shalt love God with all thy heart*, cannot mean, *Thou shalt do this when thou diest*, but while thou livest.

“ Secondly, from express texts of scripture:

“ 1. *The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that having renounced (ἀπὸρνήσειν) ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: looking for—the glorious appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity; and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Tit. ii. 11—14.*

“ 2. *He hath raised up an horn of salvation for us—to perform the mercy promised to our fathers; the oath which he*  
*swore*



*swore to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, should serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life. Luke i. 69, &c.*

Q. 10. "Does not the harshly preaching perfection tend to bring believers into a kind of bondage, or slavish fear?"

A. "It does. Therefore we should always place it in the most amiable light, so that it may excite only hope, joy, and desire.

Q. 11. "Why may we not continue in the joy of faith even till we are made perfect?"

A. "Why, indeed? Since holy grief does not quench this joy: since even while we are under the cross, while we deeply partake of the sufferings of Christ, we may rejoice with joy unspeakable.

Q. 12. "Do we not discourage believers from rejoicing ever more?"

A. "We ought not so to do. Let them all their life long, rejoice unto God, so it be with reverence. And even if lightness or pride should mix with their joy, let us not strike at the joy itself (this is the gift of God) but at that lightness or pride, that the evil may cease and the good remain.

Q. 13. "Ought we to be anxiously careful about perfection? Lest we should die before we have attained?"

A. "In no wise. We ought to be thus careful for nothing, neither spiritual nor temporal.

Q. 14. "But ought we not to be troubled, on account of the sinful nature which still remains in us?"

A. "It is good for us to have a deep sense of this, and to be much ashamed before the Lord. But this should only incite us, the more earnestly to turn unto Christ every moment, and to draw light and life, and strength from him, that we may go on, conquering and to conquer. And therefore, when the sense of our sin most abounds, the sense of his love should much more abound,

Q. 15,

Q. 15. "Will our joy or our trouble increase as we grow in grace?"

A. "Perhaps both. But without doubt our joy in the Lord will increase as our love increases.

Q. 16. "Is not the teaching believers to be continually poring upon their inbred sin, the ready way to make them forget that they were purged from their former sins?"

A. "We find by experience, it is; or to make them under-value, and account it a little thing: whereas indeed (though there are still greater gifts behind) this is inexpressibly great and glorious."

The controversy with *John Smith*, now drew towards a conclusion: and here we shall state one particular in which some suppose it had some influence on Mr. *Wesley's* mind. Hitherto he had expressed his notion of *justifying faith*, in the words of the church of *England* in her *Homily* on salvation. That it is, *A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God.* But in July he seems to have examined the subject more closely, and wrote to his brother *Charles* as follows:

"DEAR BROTHER,

"Yesterday I was thinking on a *desideratum* among us, a *Genesis problematica* on justifying faith. A skeleton of it (which you may fill up, or any one that has leisure) I have roughly set down.

"Is justifying faith a sense of pardon? *Negatur.*" It is denied.

I. "Every one is deeply concerned to understand this question well: but preachers most of all: least they either make them sad whom God hath not made sad; or, encourage them to say peace, where there is no peace.

Some

"Some years ago we heard nothing of justifying faith, or a sense of pardon: so that when we did hear of them, the theme was quite new to us; and we might easily, especially in the heat and hurry of controversy, lean too much either to the one hand or to the other.

II. "By justifying faith I mean, that faith, which whosoever hath not, is under the wrath and the curse of God. By a sense of pardon, I mean a distinct, explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven.

"I allow, 1. That there is such an explicit assurance. 2. That it is the common privilege of real Christians. 3. That it is the proper Christian faith, which purifieth the heart, and overcometh the world.

"But I cannot allow, that justifying faith is such an assurance, or necessarily connected therewith.

III. "Because, if justifying faith necessarily implies such an explicit assurance of pardon, then every one who has it not, and every one so long as he has it not, is under the wrath and under the curse of God. But this is a supposition contrary to scripture, as well as to experience.

"Contrary to Scripture: to *Isaiah* l. 10. *Who is among you, that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God.*

"Contrary to *Acts* x. 34. *Of a truth I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him.*

"Contrary to experience: for J. R. &c. &c. had peace with God, no fear, no doubt, before they had

had that sense of pardon. And so have I frequently had,

“ Again. The assertion, that justifying faith is a sense of pardon, is contrary to reason : it is flatly absurd. For how can a sense of our having received pardon, be the condition of our receiving it ?

“ IV. “ If you object, 1. ‘ *J. T. St. Paul, &c.* had this sense :’ I grant they had ; but they were justified before they had it.—2. ‘ We know fifteen hundred persons who have this assurance.’ Perhaps so : but this does not prove, they were not justified till they received it.—3. ‘ We have been exceedingly blessed in preaching this doctrine.’ We have been blessed in preaching the great truths of the gospel ; although we tacked to them, in the simplicity of our hearts, a proposition which was not true. 4. ‘ But does not our church give this account of justifying faith ?’ I am sure she does of saving or Christian faith : I think she does of justifying faith too. But to the law and to the testimony. All men may err : but the word of the Lord shall stand for ever.”

In the spring and summer of this year, Mr. *Wesley*, and the Preachers were invited into many parts of *Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire*, where they had not been before. Mr. *John Bennet*,\* was a most indefatigable and successful labourer, for several years, in these parts of the country. He was a man of sound judgment, and of considerable abilities as a preacher. From a letter which he wrote to Mr. *Wesley*, sometime after this period, we may form some notion of the labours of the Preachers. “ Many doors (says he) are opened for preaching in these parts, but cannot be supplied for want of  
Preachers.

\* Father of the late Rev. Mr. *Bennet*, Minister to a congregation on the stones in Moorfields.

Preachers. I think some one should be sent to assist me, otherwise we shall lose ground.—My circuit is one hundred and fifty miles in two weeks; during which time I preach publicly thirty-four times, besides meeting the societies, visiting the sick, and transacting the temporal business. I think the above is too much for me, considering my weak constitution.”

This was great labour; but Mr. *Wesley*, and his brother Mr. *Charles*, laboured still more. They preached as often, did all the other business, and frequently travelled near treble the distance in the same space of time. Hitherto they had been enabled to labour, and form societies with the assistance of the other Preachers, in most part of *England*, though frequently at the peril of their lives: but now their line was stretched a little further. One of the Lay-Preachers, had gone over to *Dublin*, and after preaching there for some time, formed a society. He wrote an account of his success to Mr. *Wesley*, who determined to visit *Ireland* immediately. Accordingly, August 4, he set out from *Bristol*, and passing through *Wales*, arrived in *Dublin* on Sunday the 9th, about ten o'clock in the forenoon. Mr. *Wesley* observes, “ Soon after we landed, hearing the bells ringing for church, I went thither directly.—About three I wrote a line to the curate of *St. Mary's*, who sent me word he should be glad of my assistance. So I preached there, another gentleman reading prayers, to as gay and senseless a congregation as ever I saw. After sermon Mr. *R.* thanked me very affectionately, and desired I would favour him with my company in the morning. Monday 10, Between eight and nine I went to Mr. *R.* the curate of *St. Mary's*: he professed abundance of good-will, commended my sermon in strong terms, and begged he might see me again  
the

the next morning. But at the same time he expressed the most rooted prejudice against Lay-Precachers, or preaching out of a church; and said, the archbishop of *Dublin* was resolved to suffer no such irregularities in his diocese."

In the course of the day Mr. *Wesley* went to wait on the archbishop; but he was gone out of town. The next day, he waited upon him at *New-Bridge*, ten miles from *Dublin*. He had the favour of conversing with the archbishop two or three hours; in which time he answered abundance of objections. In the evening he returned to Mr. *Lunell's*, at whose house he was hospitably entertained.

On the 14th, Mr. *Wesley* observes, "I procured a genuine account of the great *Irish* massacre, in 1641. Surely never was there such a transaction, before, from the beginning of the world! More than two hundred thousand men, women, and children, butchered within a few months in cool blood; and with such circumstances of cruelty as make one's blood run cold! It is well if God has not a controversy with the nation, on this very account to this day."—May the gracious Providence of God superintend our public affairs in such a way as to prevent the return of a like calamity.

Saturday the 15th, he staid at home, and spake to all who came to him. "But (says he) I found scarce any *Irish* among them. At least ninety-nine in an hundred of the native *Irish*, remain in the religion of their fore-fathers. The *Protestants*, whether in *Dublin* or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted from *England*. Nor is it any wonder, that those who are born *Papists*, generally live and die such; when the *Protestants* can find no better ways to convert them, than *penal laws and acts of parliament*."—I never understood,  
(observes

(observes Dr. *Whitehead*) that, *penal laws and acts of parliament*, were intended as the means of converting the *Papists*; but as means of preventing, or hindering them from breaking the peace, from murdering their neighbours who think differently from them, and from making proselytes to opinions subversive of the government. The *Bulls* of the Popes, their *Decretals*, and the oaths of the *Romish* bishops, taken even at présent, will not allow us to doubt for a moment, that principles subversive of every *Protestant* government, enter into the essence of every establishment of the *Roman-Catholic*\* religion; and will infallibly produce their natural effects, as opportunities offer. And therefore the creed, or public professions of individuals in that church to the contrary, are of no avail; they ought to weigh nothing with the legislature in *Protestant* countries, until the Pope of *Rome* annul, abrogate, and totally disavow the *bulls* and *decretals*, which infringe on the rights of Kings, and of all civil governors; and change the oaths of the bishops acting under his authority.—But, perhaps, Mr. *Wesley* intended no more, by the sentence quoted above, than a reproach either on the church or state, for not appointing proper methods of diffusing knowledge among the native *Irish*; most of whom are kept by their Priests in a state of the grossest ignorance.

The house wherein they preached at this time, was originally designed for a *Lutheran* church, and contained about four hundred people: but abundantly more might stand in the yard. Mr. *Wesley* preached morning and evening to many more than the house could contain; and had more and more reason to hope,

\* There never was a more indecent abuse of words, than in the church of *Rome* assuming the title of the *Catholic* Church

hope, they would not all be unfruitful hearers. Monday the 17th, he began to examine the society, which contained about two hundred and fourscore members, many of whom had found peace with God. "The people in general, (says Mr. Wesley) are of a more teachable spirit than in most parts of *England*: but on that very account, they must be watched over with the more care, being equally susceptible of good and ill impressions."

Mr. Wesley proceeds. "Sunday the 23d, I began in the evening before the usual time; yet were a multitude of people got together, in the house, yard, and street: abundantly more than my voice could reach. I cried aloud to as many as could hear, *All things are ready; come ye to the marriage*. Having delivered my message, about eleven I took ship for *England*, leaving *J. Trembath*, then a burning and a shining light, a workman that needed not to be ashamed, to water the seed which had been sown. Wednesday 26, about two in the afternoon we landed at *Holyhead*. Saturday 29, I preached at *Garth*, in *Brecknockshire*, in the evening, where I met my brother, in his way to *Ireland*.\*—The remaining part of this year, Mr. Wesley spent in *Bristol*, *London*, *Salisbury*, and the neighbouring places.

The following letter, written in November, may shew us how careful Mr. Wesley was, to guard the Preachers against a party spirit in their public labours. "My dear brother, (says he) in public preaching speak not one word against opinions of any kind. We are not to fight against notions but sins. Least of all should I advise you, once to open your lips against *Predestination*. It would do more mischief than

\* See vol. i. page 296.



than you are aware of. Keep to our one point, present inward salvation by faith, by the divine evidence of sins forgiven."

At this time, the work of God ("It is no cant word, says Mr. *Wesley*, it means the conversion of sinners from sin to holiness,") was both widening and deepening, not only in *London* and *Bristol*, but in most parts of *England*: there being scarcely any county,\* and not many large towns, wherein there were not more or fewer witnesses of it. Mean time the greatest numbers were brought to the great Shepherd of their souls (next to *London* and *Bristol*) in *Cornwall*, the West-Riding of *Forkshire*, and *Newcastle upon Tyne*. But still they were obliged in many places, to carry their lives in their hands. Several instances of this have already been related; and many more might still be added.

February 15, 1748, he left *Bristol*, and proceeded through *Wales* on his way to *Ireland*. On the 24th, he reached *Holyhead*, where he was detained about twelve days. He did not remain idle; but preached every day at some place in the neighbourhood. "I never knew men, says Mr. *Wesley*, make such poor lame excuses, as these captains did, for not sailing. It put me in mind of the epigram.

"There are, if rightly I may think,  
Five causes why a man should drink.

"Which, with a little alteration would just suit them.

"There are, unless any memory fail,  
Five causes why we should not sail.  
The fog is thick: the wind is high:  
It rains: or may do by and by:  
Or—any other reason why."

}

March

March 8, about one o'clock in the morning, they sailed, and came to *Dublin* in the evening, where Mr. *Wesley* found his brother meeting the society. On the 16th, he inquired into the state of the society. "Most pompous accounts, (says Mr. *Wesley*) had been sent me from time to time, of the great numbers that were added to it; so that I confidently expected to find therein, six or seven hundred members. And how is the real fact? I left three hundred and ninety-four members; and I doubt if there are now, three hundred and ninety-six!

"Let this be a warning to us all, how we give into that hateful custom of painting things beyond the life. Let us make a conscience of magnifying or exaggerating any thing. Let us rather speak under than above the truth. We, of all men, should be punctual in all we say, that none of our words may fall to the ground."

Wednesday the 23d, he preached to the prisoners in *Newgate*. On the 30th he left *Dublin*, and rode to *Philip's-Town*, the assizes town of the *King's-County*. The street was soon filled with those who flocked from every side. And even at five in the morning, he had a large congregation. After preaching he spoke severally to those of the society; of whom forty were troopers. At noon he preached to a larger congregation than in *Dublin*; and adds, "I am persuaded, God did then make an offer of life to all the inhabitants of *Philip's-Town*."

The following days he preached at *Tullamore*, *Tyrell's-Pass*, *Clara*, *Temple-Maqueteer*, *Moat*; and on Saturday, April 2d, came to *Athlone*. His brother *Charles* had been here some time before; though it was with the imminent hazard of his life. For within about a mile of the town, he was war-laid by a very

numerous *Popish* mob, who discharged a shower of stones, which he very narrowly escaped.\* “ This, (says Mr. *J. Wesley*) had an exceeding happy effect, prejudicing all the *Protestants* in our favour. And this seemed to increase every day. The morning I went away, most of the congregation were in tears. Indeed almost all the town seemed to be moved ; full of good-will, and desires of salvation. But the waters were too wide to be deep. I found not one under strong conviction, much less had any one attained the knowledge of salvation, in hearing above thirty sermons. After re-visiting the towns I had seen before, on Tuesday the 16th, I returned to *Dublin*. Having staid a few days there, I made another little excursion through the country societies. May the 14th, I returned to *Dublin*, and had the satisfaction to find, that the work of God, not only spread wider and wider, but was also much deepened in many souls. Wednesday the 18th, we took ship, and the next day landed at *Holyhead*.”

Notwithstanding Mr. *Wesley's* daily employment in preaching, often morning, noon, and night, and his continual travelling from place to place ; yet, he had some years before this, formed the design of making collections from the most approved writers in the *English* language, on the subjects of practical divinity, and of printing them under the title of, *A Christian Library*. The letter which Dr. *Doddridge* sent him, with the list of books he had requested, greatly facilitated his labour, and he had now large materials ready for the work. He wrote to a friend, and mentions an intention of immediately executing the design. “ Are you (says he) still pressing toward the mark, the prize of your high calling? Is your hope

hope full of immortality? Do you continue to count all things loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of *Christ Jesus*? Some time since I was in much concern for you, lest you should be swallowed up in the things of earth. But I trust God has wrought a great deliverance for you, and given you to choose him for your God, and your all. O seek him with an undivided heart, till you see him as he is!

“ I have often thought of mentioning to you, and a few others, a design I have had for some years, of printing a little library, perhaps of fourscore, or one hundred volumes, for the use of those that fear God.\* my purpose was to select whatever I had seen most valuable in the *English* language, and either abridge, or take the whole Tracts, only a little corrected or explained, as occasion should require. Of these I could print ten or twelve, more or less every year, on a fine paper and large letter, which should be cast for the purpose.—As soon as I am able to purchase a printing-press and types, I think of entering on this design. I have several books now ready; and a Printer who desires nothing more than food and raiment. In three or four weeks I hope to be in *London*, and if God permit, to begin without delay.” —He at length accomplished his design in fifty *duodecimo* volumes.

“ June 24th, (says Mr. *Wesley*) being the day we had appointed for opening the school at *Kingswood* (that is, for boarders) I preached there, on, *Train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it*. My brother and I then administered the Lord's supper to many who came from far.”—The following is an abstract from Mr.

R 2

*Wesley's*

\* It is evident enough from Dr. *Doddridge's* letter, that the first intention was, the benefit of the Preachers.

Westley's "Short Account of the School in Kingswood near Bristol," which was printed some years after this period.

1748. 1749.

1749. Our design is, with God's assistance, to train up children in every branch of useful learning.

1749. The school contains eight classes :

" In the first class the children read, Instructions for Children, and Lessons for Children; and begin learning to write.

" In the second class they read The Manners of the Ancient Christians, go on in writing, learn the Short English Grammar, the Short Latin Grammar, read *Prælectiones Pueriles*: translate them into English, and the Instructions for Children into Latin: part of which they transcribe and repeat.

" In the third class they read Dr. Cave's Primitive Christianity, go on in writing, perfect themselves in the English and Latin Grammar; read *Corderii Colloquia Selecta* and *Misthræ Selectæ*: translate *Historiæ Selectæ* into English, and Lessons for Children into Latin: part of which they transcribe, and repeat.

" In the fourth class they read the Pilgrim's Progress, perfect themselves in writing: learn Dilworth's Arithmetic: read Castellio's Kempis and Cornelius Nepos: translate Castellio into English, and Manners of the ancient Christians into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of moral and sacred poems.

" In the fifth class they read the Life of Mr. Haliburton, perfect themselves in arithmetic; read Select Dialogues of Erasmus, Phædrus and Sallust: translate Erasmus into English, and Primitive Christianity into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of moral and sacred poems.

" In the sixth class they read the Life of Mr. De Renty, and Kennet's Roman Antiquities: they learn Randal's Geography: read Cæsar, Select Parts of Terence and Velleius Paternulus: translate Erasmus into English, and the Life

of

of Mr. Haliburton into Latin: transcribe and repeat select portions of sacred hymns and poems.

"In the seventh class they read Mr. Law's *Christian Perfection*, and Archbishop Potter's *Greek Antiquities*: they learn Bengelii *Introductio ad Chronologiam*, with Marshal's *Chronological Tables*: read Tully's *Offices* and Virgil's *Æneid*: translate Bengelius into English, and Mr. Law into Latin: learn (those who have a turn for it) to make verses, and the Short Greek Grammar: read the *Epistles* of St. John: transcribe and repeat select portions of Milton.

"In the eighth class they read Mr. Law's *Serious Call*, and Lewis's *Hebrew Antiquities*: they learn to make Themes and to declaim: learn Vossius's *Rhetoric*: read Tully's *Tusculan Questions*, and *Selecta ex Ovidio, Virgilio, Horatio, Juvenale, Persio, Martiale*: perfect themselves in the Greek Grammar; read the Gospels and Six Books of Homer's *Iliad*: translate Tully into English, and Mr. Law into Latin: learn the Short Hebrew Grammar, and read Genesis: transcribe and repeat *Selecta ex Virgilio, Horatio, Juvenale*.

"It is our particular desire, That all who are educated here, may be brought up in the fear of God, and at the utmost distance as from vice in general, so in particular from idleness and effeminacy. The children therefore of tender parents, so called, have no business here: for the rules will not be broken, in favour of any person whatsoever. Nor is any child received unless his parents agree, that he shall observe all the rules of the house, and 2. That they will not take him from school, no, not a day, till they take him for good and all.

"The method observed in the School is this:

"The First Class.

Morn. 7. Read.

10. Write till eleven.

Aftern. 1. Read.

4. Write till five.

"The Second Class.

M. 7. Read the Manners of the Ancient Christians:

8. Learn

- 8. Learn the English Grammar: when that is ended,  
the Latin Grammar
- 10. Learn to write.
- A. 1. Learn to construe and parse *Prælectiones Pueriles* :
- 4. Translate into English and Latin alternately.

“ The Third Class.

- M. 7. Read Primitive Christianity :
- 8. Repeat English and Latin Grammar alternately.
- 9. Learn Corderius, and when that is ended, *Historiæ Selectæ*.
- 10. Write.
- A. 1. Learn Corderius and *Historiæ Selectæ*.
- 4. Translate.

“ The Fourth Class.

- M. 7. Read the Pilgrim's Progress :
- 8. Repeat the Grammar :
- 9. Learn Castello's Kempis, and when that is ended,  
Cornelius Nepos.
- 10. Write and learn Arithmetic :
- A. 1. Learn Kempis and Cornelius Nepos.
- 4. Translate.

“ The Fifth Class.

- M. 7. Read Mr. Halliburton's Life.
- 8. Repeat the Grammars :
- 9. Learn Erasmus ; afterwards Phædrus ; then Sallust :
- 10. Learn Arithmetic :
- A. 1. Learn Erasmus, Phædrus, Sallust :
- 4. Translate.

“ The Sixth Class.

- M. 7. Read Mr. de Renty's Life :
- 8. Repeat the Grammars :
- 9. Learn Cæsar ; afterwards Terence ; then Velleius  
Paterculus :
- 10. Learn Geography :
- A. 1. Learn Cæsar ; Terence ; Paterculus :
- 3. Read Roman Antiquities :
- 4. Translate.

“ The

“ The Seventh Class.

M. 7. Read Mr. Law’s Christian Perfection :

{ M. W. F. Learn the Greek Grammar ; and read the  
Greek Testament ;  
Tu. Th. Sat. Learn Tully ; afterwards Virgil :

10. Learn Chronology :

A. 1. Learn Latin and Greek alternately, as in the morn-  
ing :

3. Read Grecian Antiquities :

4. Translate and make verses alternately.

“ The Eighth Class.

M. 7. Read Mr. Law’s Serious Call :

{ M. Th. Latin.

{ Tu. Frid. Greek.

{ W. S. Hebrew : and so at one in the afternoons :

10. Learn Rhetoric :

A. 3. Read Hebrew Antiquities :

4. Mond. Thurs. Translate.

Tues. Frid. Make Verses :

Wed. Make a Theme :

Sat. Write a Declamation.

“ All the other classes spend Saturday afternoon in Arith-  
metic, and in transcribing what they learn on Sunday, and  
repeat on Monday morning.”

Mr. *Wesley* adds ; “ The following method may be  
observed, by those who design to go through a course  
of academical learning.

“ FIRST YEAR.

\* Read Lowth’s English  
Grammar,

Latin

Greek

Hebrew

French

} Grammars,

Corn. Nepos,

Sallust,

Cæsar,

Tully’s Offices,

Terence,

Phædrus,

*Æneid*,—



*Æneid*,—

Dilworth, Randal, Bengelius,

Vossius,

Aldrich and Wallis's *Logic*,

Langbain's *Ethics*,

Hutchinson on the *Passions*,

Spanheim's *Introduction on*  
the *Ecclesiastical History*,

Puffendorf's *Introduction to*  
the *History of Europe*.

*Moral and Sacred Poems*,

*Hebrew Pentateuch*, with the  
*Notes*,

*Greek Testament*, *Matt.*

—————*Acts*, with the  
*Notes*.

*Xenophon's Cyrus*,

*Homer's Iliad*,

*Bishop Pearson on the*  
*Creed*,

*Ten Volumes of the Chris-*  
*tian Library*:

*Telemaque*.

#### “ SECOND YEAR.

“ Look over the *Grammars*,

*Read Vell. Paterculus*,

*Tusculan Questions*,

*Excerptæ*,

*Vidæ Opera*,

*Lusus Westmonasteriensis*,

*Chronological Tables*,

*Euclid's Elements*,

*Well's Tracts*,

*Newton's Principia*,

*Mosheim's Introduction to*  
*Church History*,

*Usher's Annals*,

*Burnet's His. of the Refor-*  
*mation*,

*Spenser's Fairy Queen*,

*Historical Books of the*  
*Hebrew Bible*,

*Greek Testament*,

*Homer's Odyssey*,

*Twelve Volumes of the*  
*Christian Library*,

*Ramsay's Cyrus*,

*Racine*.

#### “ THIRD YEAR.

“ Look over the *Grammars*,

*Livy*,

*Suetonius*,

*Tully de Finibus*,

*Musæ Anglicanæ*,

*Dr. Burton's Poemata*,

*Ld. Forbes's Tracts*,

*Abridgment of Hutchinson's*  
*Works*,

*Survey of the Wisdom of*  
*God in the Creation*,

*Rollin's Ancient History*,

*Hume's History of England*,

*Neal's History of the Puri-*  
*tans*,

*Milton's Poetical Works*,

*Hebrew Bible*, *Job—Can-*  
*ticles*,

*Greek Testament*,

*Plato's Dialogues*,

*Greek Epigrams*,

*Twelve*

Twelve Volumes of the  
Christian Library, -

Pascal, &  
Corneille.

“ FOURTH YEAR.

“ Look over the Grammars,  
Tacitus,  
Grotii Historia Belgica,  
Tully de Natura Deorum,  
Prædium Rusticum,  
Carmina Quadragesimalia.  
Philosophical Transactions  
abridged,  
Watts’s Astronomy, &c.  
Compendium Metaphysicæ,  
Watts’s Ontology,  
Locke’s Essay,  
Malebranche,  
Clarendon’s History,

Neal’s History of New-Eng-  
land,  
Antonio Solis’ History of  
Mexico,  
Shakespear,  
Rest of the Hebrew Bible,  
Greek Testament,  
Epictetus,  
Marcus Antoninus,  
Poetæ Minores,  
End the Christian Library,  
La Fausseté de les Vertues  
humanes. Quesnell sur  
les Evangiles.

“ Whoever carefully goes through this course, will be a better scholar than nine in ten of the graduates at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.”

About the time this short account was printed, Mr. *Wesley* asked in the Conference, “ What can be done to make the *Methodists* sensible of the excellency of *Kingswood-School* ? ”—The answer agreed upon, was,

“ Let every Assistant read the following account of it yearly, in every society. 1. The wisdom and love of God have now thrust out a large number of labourers into his harvest ; men who desire nothing on earth but to promote the glory of God, to save their own souls, and them that hear them. And those to whom they minister spiritual things, willingly minister to them of their carnal things ; so that they *have food to eat and raiment to put on*, and are content therewith.

2. “ A

2. “ A competent provision is likewise made for the wives of married preachers. These also lack for nothing, having a weekly allowance over and above for their little children: so that neither they nor their husbands need *be careful about many things*, but may wait upon the Lord without distraction.

3. “ But one considerable difficulty lies on those who have boys, when they grow too big to be under their mother’s direction. Having no father to govern and instruct them, they are exposed to a thousand temptations. To remedy this, we have a school on purpose for them, wherein they have all the instruction they are capable of, together with all things needful for the body, clothes only excepted. And it may be, if God prosper this labour of love, they will have these too shortly.

4. “ In whatever view we look upon this, it is one of the noblest charities that can be conceived. How reasonable is the institution? Is it fit that the children of those who leave wife, home, and all that is dear, to save souls from death, should want what is needful either for soul or body? Ought not we to supply what the parent cannot, because of his labours in the gospel? How excellent are the effects of this institution? The Preacher, eased of this weight, can the more easily go on in his labour. And perhaps many of those children may hereafter fill up the place of those that shall *rest from their labours*.

5. “ But the expence of such an undertaking is very large; so that although we have at present but thirteen or fourteen poor children, we are continually running behind, notwithstanding the yearly subscription made at *London and Bristol*. The best means we could think of at our late Conference to supply the deficiency is, once a year to desire the assistance of  
of

all those in every place who wish<sup>\*</sup> well to the work of God ; all who long <sup>to</sup> see sinners converted to God, and the kingdom of *Christ* set up in all the earth." \*

From this time a public collection has been made through all the societies once in every year, for *Kingswood-School*. In the year, 1794, it amounted to twelve hundred and eighty-four pounds, eighteen shillings and one penny !\*

July 18th, Mr. *Wesley* was at *Newcastle upon Tyne* ; and from thence proceeded Northward, preaching at several places in his way, till he came to *Berwick upon Tweed*. Here he preached three or four times, in a large green space, near the Governor's house. A little society had been formed at this place some time before, which was now considerably increased : and several members of it, walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called. On the 23d, after preaching at other places on his way back, he returned to *Newcastle*.

During the summer, there was a large increase of the work of God, both in *Northumberland*, the county of *Durham*, and *Yorkshire* : as also in the most savage part of *Lancashire* ; though here in particular the Preachers carried their lives in their hands. A specimen of the treatment they met with there, may be seen in the following brief account.

" On August 26th, (says Mr. *Wesley*) while I was speaking to some quiet people at *Roughley*, near *Coln* in *Lancashire*, a drunken rabble came, the captain of whom said he was a deputy constable, and I must go with him. I had scarce gone ten yards, when one of his company struck me in the face with all his might. Another threw his stick at my head : all the rest were like

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\* Since the year 1800,—the children of the Preachers in Ireland have been provided for by collections made throughout this part of the united kingdom.

like as many ramping and roaring lions. They brought me, with Mr. *Grimshaw*, the minister of *Haworth*; Mr. *Colbeck*, of *Kighley*, and Mr. *Macford*, of *Newcastle* (who never recovered the abuse he then received) into a public-house at *Barrowford*, a neighbouring village, where all their forces were gathered together.

“ Soon after Mr. *Hargrave*, the high constable, came, and required me to promise I would come to *Roughley* no more. This I flatly refused. But upon saying, I will not preach here now, he undertook to quiet the mob. While he and I walked out at one door, Mr. *Grimshaw*, and *Colbeck*, went out at the other. The mob immediately closed them in, tossed them to and fro with the greatest violence, threw Mr. *Grimshaw* down, and loaded them both with dirt and mire of every kind. The other quiet harmless people, who followed me at a distance, they treated full as ill. They poured upon them showers of dirt and stones, without any regard to age or sex. Some of them they trampled in the mire, and dragged by the hair of the head. Many they beat with their clubs without mercy. One they forced to leap from a rock, ten or twelve feet high, into the river. And when he crept out, wet and bruised, were hardly persuaded, not to throw him in again. Such was the recompense we frequently received from our countrymen, for our labour of love.”

We find nothing very remarkable during the following year, except Mr. *Wesley's* perseverance in his frequent journies, and incessant labours. In the beginning of the year 1750, having been informed of the violence of the mobs at *Cork*, against both the preachers and people, and being in nothing terrified by the adversaries, he determined to set out for the scene

scene of riot. Accordingly, April 7th, he embarked at *Holyhead* in the morning, and in the evening landed in *Dublin*. Here he received a full account of the shocking outrages which had been committed at *Cork*, for several months together; and which the good magistrates had encouraged rather than opposed. At the Lent assizes, several depositions were laid before the grand jury, against the rioters: yet they did not find any of these bills! But they found a bill against a poor baker, who, when the mob were discharging a shower of stones upon him, discharged a pistol without ball, over their heads, which put them into such bodily fear, that they all ran away, without looking behind them.

Having tarried ten or twelve days in *Dublin*, Mr. *Wesley* began his journey through the country societies, towards *Cork*, where he arrived May the 19th. The next day, understanding the house was small, he went out about eight o'clock, to *Hammond's-Marsh*: at that time a large open space, but since built over. Here he preached, to a large and deeply attentive congregation. In the afternoon, two of the Preachers went to the mayor, and asked, if it would be disagreeable to him, that Mr. *Wesley* should preach on the Marsh? He answered, "Sir, I will have no more mobs and riots." One of them replied, Sir, Mr. *Wesley* has made none. He then spake plainly, "Sir, I will have no more preaching. And if Mr. *Wesley* attempts it, I am prepared for him." Here was a chief magistrate, who, if Mr. *Wesley* attempted to preach and instruct the people in their duty to God and man, was determined to make a riot to hinder him!

The following is an abstract from Mr. *Wesley's* journal, of what took place afterwards, at *Cork*, and

at *Bandon*. “ I would not therefore, attempt to preach on the Marsh, but began in our own house about five (in the evening on the same day, being Sunday.) The good mayor, mean time, was walking on the Change, and giving orders to his serjeant and the town drummers, who immediately came down to the house, with an innumerable mob attending him. They continued drumming, and I continued preaching, till I had finished my discourse. When I came out, the mob presently closed me in. Observing one of the serjeants standing by me, I desired him to keep the king’s peace. But he replied, ‘ Sir, I have no orders to do that.’ As soon as I came into the open street, the rabble threw whatever came to hand. But all went by me, or over my head ; nor do I remember that any thing touched me. I walked straight through the midst of the rabble, looking every man before me in the face ; and they opened to the right and left, till I came near *Dant’s-Bridge*. A large party had taken possession of this : but when I came up, they likewise shrunk back, and I walked through them to Mr. *Jenkins’s* house. But a stout papist-woman stood just within the door, and would not let me come in, till one of the mob, aiming I suppose at *me*, knocked *her* down flat. I then went in, and God restrained the wild beasts, so that no one attempted to follow me.

“ But many of the congregation were more roughly handled ; particularly Mr. *Jones*, who was covered with mud, and escaped with his life almost by miracle. Finding the mob were not inclined to disperse, I sent to Alderman *Pembroke*, who immediately desired Alderman *Wentthrop*, his nephew, to go down to Mr. *Jenkins’s* : with whom I walked up the street, none giving an unkind or disrespectful word.

“ All

“ All the following week it was at the peril of his life, if any *Methodist* stirred out of doors. And the case was much the same, during the whole mayoralty of Mr. *Crone*. But the succeeding mayor, declared in good earnest, ‘ There shall be no more mobs or riots in *Cork*.’ And he did totally suppress them. So that from that time forward, even the *Methodists* enjoyed the same liberty with the rest of his Majesty’s subjects.

“ In the mean time the work of God went on with little opposition, both in other parts of the county of *Cork*, and at *Waterford*, and *Limerick*; as well as in *Mountmelick*, *Athlone*, *Longford*, and most parts of the province of *Leinster*. In my return from *Cork*, I had an opportunity of visiting all these. And I had the satisfaction of observing, how greatly God had blessed my fellow-labourers, and how many sinners were saved from the error of their ways. Many of these had been eminent for all manner of sins: many had been *Roman Catholics*. And I suppose the number of these (*Roman Catholics*, converted<sup>1</sup>) would have been far greater, had not the good *Protestants*, as well as the *Popish* priests, taken true pains to hinder them.”

During Mr. *Wesley*’s stay at *Cork*, and in its neighbourhood, he observes, “ All this time God gave us great peace at *Bandon*, notwithstanding the unwearied labours, both public and private, of Dr. *B.* to stir up the people. But Saturday 26, many were under great apprehensions of what was to be done in the evening. I began preaching in the main street at the usual hour, but to more than twice the usual congregation. After I had spoke about a quarter of an hour, a clergyman, who had planted himself near me, with a very large stick in his hand, according to agreement opened the scene.



scene. Indeed his friends assured me, ' he was in drink, or he would not have done it.' But before he had uttered many words, two or three resolute women, by main strength pulled him into an house, and after expostulating a little, sent him away through the garden.—The next champion that appeared, was a young gentleman of the town.—But his triumph too was short: for some of the people quickly bore him away, though with much gentleness and civility.—The third came on with far greater fury: but he was encountered by a butcher of the town, not one of the *Methodists*, who used him as he would an ox, bestowing one or two heavy blows on his head. This cooled his courage, especially as none took his part. He quietly finished my discourse."

Mr. *Wesley* continued his labours in *Ireland*, till July 22, when he set sail for *Bristol*. He staid here only a few days, and then went on to visit the societies through the West of *England*, as far as *Cornwall*; in which service he spent near six weeks. August 15, He observes, " By reflecting on an odd book which I had read in this journey, ' The general delusion of Christians with regard to prophecy,' I was fully convinced of what I had long suspected; 1. That the *Montanists*, in the second and third centuries, were real scriptural *Christians*: and 2. That the grand reason why the miraculous gifts were so soon withdrawn, was, not only that faith and holiness were well-nigh lost, but that dry, formal, orthodox men, began even then to ridicule whatever gifts they had not themselves, and to decry them all, as either madness or imposture."\*

On

\* The *Montanists* were a sect of Christians, which sprung up about the year of Christ, 171. They took their name from *Montanus*, a *Phrygian* ty

On his return from *Cornwall*, he preached in the street at *Shaftsbury*; but none made any noise, or spake one word, while he called *the wicked to forsake his way*. When he was returned to the house where he lodged, a constable came, and said, "Sir, the mayor discharges you from preaching in this borough any more." Mr. *Wesley* replied, "While KING GEORGE gives me leave to preach, I shall not ask leave of the mayor of *Shaftsbury*."

Sept. 8. He came to *London*, and received the following account of the death of one of the travelling Preachers. "*John Jane* was never well after walking from *Reverth* to *Hainton*, on an exceeding hot day, which threw him into a fever. But he was in great peace and love, even to those who greatly wanted love to him. He was some time at *Alice Shadforth's* house, with whom he daily talked of the things of God; spent much time in private prayer; and joined likewise with her in prayer several times in a day: On Friday, Aug. 24, he sat in the evening by the fire-side: about six he fetched a deep sigh, and never spoke more. He was alive till the same time on Saturday, when without any struggle or sign of pain, with a smile on his face, he passed away. His last words were, 'I find the love of God in *Christ Jesus*.'

"All his clothes, linen, and woollen, stockings, hat, and wig, are not thought sufficient to answer his funeral expences, which amount to one pound seventeen shillings and three-pence. All the money he had

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was

by birth. They made no alteration in the creed, or articles of belief then commonly received. They were abstemious and moral in their conduct. But they maintained that the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, were not withdrawn from the faithful and pious; and that they had among themselves the gift of prophecy, &c.

was, one shilling and four-pence.”—“ Enough (adds Mr. *Wesley*) for any unmarried Preacher of the gospel, to leave to his executors.”—Mr. *Wesley* spent the remainder of the year in *London*, *Bristol*, and the neighbouring places; and in preparing several books for the use of the children at *Kingswood-School*.

Mr. *Wesley* had many difficulties to encounter, not only from those who openly opposed him, but from many who were in connexion with him: especially from some of the Preachers, who already began to wish, that the *Methodists* might become a distinct and complete body; or church, among themselves; by which step, they would have, in order to support their own existence, a separate interest to maintain, in opposition to the established church, and in some respects to every denomination of Dissenters. This was in flat opposition to Mr. *Wesley's* design in forming the *Methodist* societies; which was to promote scriptural holiness through the land, without any particular regard to the distinction of parties. At this time; and for some years afterwards, he frequently corresponded with Mr. *Edward Perronet*, whom he sincerely esteemed, and to whom he often opened his mind with great freedom. We shall make an extract or two, from the letters written in the present year,\* relative to this and some other subjects.

From *Ireland* he observes, “ I have abundance of complaints to make, as well as to hear. I have scarce any on whom I can depend, when I am an hundred miles off. 'Tis well if I do not run away soon, and leave them to cut and shuffle for themselves. Here

is

\* The letters written by Mr. *Wesley* to Mr. *Perronet*, came into the hands of Mr. *Shrubsole*, after Mr. *Perronet's* death; who obliged Dr. *Whitehead* with the use of them.

is a glorious people. But, O! where are the shepherds?

“The society at *Cork* have fairly sent me word, that they will take care of themselves, and erect themselves into a Dissenting congregation. I am weary of these sons of *Zeruiah*: they are too hard for me. Dear *Ted*, stand fast, whether I stand or fall.”

In another letter, he says, “*Charles*,\* and you *behave* as I want you to do. But you cannot, or will not, preach *where* I desire. Others can and will preach *where* I desire: but they do not *behave* as I want them to do. I have a fine time between the one and the other.” And again in a third, “I think both *Charles*, and you have, in the general, a right sense of what it is to serve as sons in the gospel. And if all our *Helpers* had had the same, the work of God would have prospered better, both in *England* and *Ireland*.” About a fortnight afterwards, he writes thus on the same subject, “You put the thing right. I have not one Preacher with me, and not six in *England*, whose Wills are broken enough, to serve me as sons in the gospel.”

On the subject of reproof, and of remedying things that were amiss, he observes to his friend, “Come on, now you have broke the ice, and tell me the other half of your mind. I always blamed you for speaking too little, not too much. When you spoke most freely, as at *Whitehaven*, it was best for us both.

“I did not always *disbelieve*, when I said nothing. But I would not attempt a thing, till I could carry it. *Tu quod scis, nescis*, is an useful Rule, till I can remedy what I know. As you observe, many things

things are remedied already: and many more will be. But you consider, I have none to second me. They who should do it, start aside as a broken bow."

January 30, 1751, Mr. *Wesley*, at the pressing request of Dr. *Isham*, then rector of *Lincoln-College*, set out early in the morning to vote for a member of parliament. It was a severe frost, the wind North-West, full in his face, and the roads so slippery that the horses could scarcely keep their feet. Nevertheless, about seven in the evening, he, and those with him, for he never travelled alone, came safe to *Oxford*. A congregation was waiting for him, whom he immediately addressed in those awful words, *What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul.*—The next day he went to the schools, where the convocation was met. "But (says he) I did not find that decency and order which I expected. The gentleman for whom I voted, was not elected: yet I did not repent of my coming; I owe much more than this to that generous, friendly man, who now rests from his labours." Mr. *Wesley* means Dr. *Morley*, who so generously assisted him with his interest, when he was elected Fellow of *Lincoln-College*.\*

A year or more, before this period, Mr. *Wesley* had formed a resolution to marry. But the affair coming to the knowledge of Mr. *Charles Wesley*, before marriage took place, he found means to prevent it, for reasons which appeared to him of sufficient importance to authorize him to interfere in the business. Mr. *John Wesley*, however, thought otherwise, and this was the first breach of that union and harmony which had now subsisted between the two brothers, without interruption, for more than twenty years.

Notwithstanding

\* See Vol. 1. page 380.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, Mr. *Wesley* still continued in the resolution to marry; and having fixed his choice of a partner, he proposed the matter to the Reverend Mr. *Perronet*, of *Shoreham*. February 2, he received Mr. *Perronet's* answer, who wrote as a Christian minister ought to write, in favour of marriage. In a few days after, he married Mrs. *Fizelle*, a widow lady of independent fortune. But before the marriage, he took care that her fortune should be wholly settled upon herself, refusing to have the command of one shilling of her property. Mr. *Wesley's* constant habit of travelling from place to place, through *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, the number of persons who came to visit him wherever he was, and his extensive correspondence with the members of the society, were circumstances apparently unfavourable to that social intercourse, mutual openness and confidence, which some think form the basis of happiness in the married state. These circumstances, indeed, would not have been so very unfavourable, had he married a woman who could have entered into his views, and have accommodated herself to his situation. But this was not the case. Had he searched the whole kingdom on purpose, he would hardly have found a woman more unsuitable in these respects, than she whom he married.

Some years before his marriage, Mr. *Wesley* had written a small *Tract* in favour of celibacy. Not that he condemned, or even disapproved of prudent marriages, but he thought celibacy, to those who could live comfortably in it, more favourable to religious improvement than a state of matrimony. He considered *Paul's* advice to the church at *Corinth*, as a standing rule in all circumstances of *Christians*. It is really wonderful how he could fall into this error, as the Apostle expressly

pressly says, that he gave that advice *διὰ τὴν ἐπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην*, on account of the impending distress: that is, on account of the persecutions both from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, which already threatened the churches; when men and women being dragged to prison, or to death, it would be more easy and convenient not to be entangled with the cares of a family. It does not appear however, that Mr. *Wesley*, in writing that *Tract*, had any reference to his own situation in particular; or, that he had formed a resolution never to marry.

March 27, Mr. *Wesley* set out on his Northern journey. He travelled through the societies as far as *Whitehaven*, and April 20, came to *Newcastle*. On the 24th, he set out with Mr. *Hopper*, to pay his first visit to *Scotland*. He was invited thither by captain (afterwards colonel) *Galatin*, who was then quartered at *Musselborough*. "I had no intention (says he) to preach in *Scotland*; not imagining that there were any that desired I should. But I was mistaken. Curiosity, if nothing else, brought abundance of people together in the evening. And whereas in the kirk, Mrs. *Galatin* informed me, there used to be laughing and talking, and all the marks of the grossest inattention; it was far otherwise here. They remained as statues from the beginning of the sermon to the end. I preached again at six in the evening, on, *Seek ye the Lord while he may be found*. I used great plainness of speech towards high and low: and they all received it in love: so that the prejudice which had been several years planting, was torn up by the roots in one hour. After preaching, one of the *Bailiffs* of the town, with one of the *Elders* of the kirk, came to me, and begged I would stay with them awhile; nay, if it were but two or three days; and they would fit up a far larger place than the school,

school, and prepare seats for the congregations. Had not my time been fixed, I should gladly have complied. All that I could now do, was to give them a promise, that Mr. *Hopper* would come back the next week and spend a few days with them. And it was not without a fair prospect. The congregations were very numerous: many were cut to the heart; and several joined together in a little society."

May 15, Mr. *Wesley* came to *Leeds*. Here he held a *Conference* with about thirty of the Preachers. He inquired particularly into their qualifications, as to their grace and gifts; and into the fruits of their labours; and tells us he found no reason to doubt, except of one only.

Mr. *Wesley* had now been married upwards of three months; and June the 1st he resigned his fellowship. His letter of resignation was in the words of one of the established forms of the college for that purpose, as follows. "Ego *Johannes Wesley*, Collegii *Lincolniensis* in Academia *Oxoniensi* Socius, quicquid mihi juris est in prædicta Societate, ejusdem Rectori et Sociis sponte ac liberè resigno: Illis universis et singulis, perpetuam pacem, ac omnimodam in CHRISTO felicitatem exoptans."



## CHAPTER III.

*Of Mr. Wesley's ministerial Labours, and of the Spread of Methodism, till the Conference in 1770: with an Extract from the larger Minutes: giving a View of various Regulations respecting the Preachers, &c. &c.*

IT has been stated,\* that Mr. Charles Wesley, in the course of the present year, went into *Yorkshire* with a commission to enquire more particularly into the character and moral conduct of the Preachers in their several stations. He found one or two, who did not walk worthy of the Gospel; and several more whom *he* thought utterly unqualified to preach. In the execution of his commission, Mr. John Wesley wrote to him very frequently. The following are extracts from some of his letters on this occasion.

July 17. "I fear for C. S.—and J. C.—more and more. I have heard they frequently and bitterly rail against the church."—On this Mr. Charles puts the following query: "What assurance can we have that they will not forsake it, at least when we are dead? Ought we to admit any man for a Preacher, till we can trust his invariable attachment to the church?"

July 20. "The societies both must and shall maintain the Preachers we send among them, or I will preach among them no more. The least that I can say to any of these preachers, is, 'Give yourself wholly to the work, and you shall have food to eat, and raiment to put on.' And I cannot see that any Preacher is called to any people, who will not thus maintain him.—Almost every thing depends on you and

\* Vol. i. page 323.

and me : let nothing damp or hinder us : only let us be alive, and, put forth all our strength."

July 24. "As to the preachers, my counsel is, not to check the young ones without strong necessity. If we lay some aside, we must have a supply; and of the two, I prefer grace before gifts."—Mr. Charles puts a query. "Are not both indispensably necessary?"

July 27. "What is it, that has eaten out the heart of half our Preachers, particularly those in *Ireland*? Absolutely idleness: their not being constantly employed. *I see it plainer and plainer.* Therefore I beg you will enquire of each, 'How do you spend your time from morning to evening?' And give him his choice, 'Either follow your trade, or resolve before God, to spend the same hours in reading, &c., which you used to spend in working.'"

August 3. "I heartily concur with you, in dealing with all (not only with disorderly walkers, but also) triflers, *μαλακες, πογυπρανμοιαις*, the effeminate and busybodies, as with *M. I'*—I spoke to one this morning, so that I was even amazed at myself."

August 8. "We must have forty Itinerant Preachers, or drop some of our societies.—You cannot so well judge of this, without seeing the letters I receive from all parts."

August 15. "If our Preachers do not, nor will not, spend all their time in study and saving souls, they must be employed close in other work, or perish."

August 17. "*C. S*—, pleads for a kind of *Aristocracy*, and says you, and I, should do nothing without the consent of all the Preachers; otherwise we govern arbitrarily, to which they cannot submit. Whence is this?"

August

\* An advice worthy of being scrupulously attended to, by every ambassador of God!

August 24. "O that you and I may arise and stand upright! I quite agree with you: let us have but six, so we are all one. I have sent one more home to his work. We may trust God to send forth more labourers; only be not unwilling to receive them, when there is reasonable proof that he has sent them."

In August, Mr. *Charles Wesley* wrote to his brother under great oppression of mind, and in very strong language. Wherever he saw some things wrong, his fears suggested to him, that there might be many more which he did not see; and the natural warmth of his temper, led him to use expressions abundantly more severe than the case required. But the Preachers against whom he had no material charge, but want of qualifications for their office, by writing to Mr. *John Wesley* a letter of humiliation and entire submission, had often the matter settled with him, and he would give them fresh encouragement. Such was his forbearance towards those he believed to have been called to minister in holy things.

Being returned to *London*, the two brothers went down to *Shoreham*, in November, and talked the matter over in the presence of Mr. *Perronet*. They both expressed their entire satisfaction in the end which each had in view; namely the glory of God, and the salvation of souls. They both acknowledged their sincerity in desiring union to continue between themselves, as the means to that end; and after much conversation, agreed to act in concert with respect to the Preachers, so that neither of them should refuse or admit any, but such as both admitted or refused. —About six weeks afterwards they were at *Shoreham* again; and then signed the following articles of agreement.

"With regard to the Preachers, we agree,

1. "That

1. " That none shall be permitted to preach in any of our societies, till he be examined both as to his grace and gifts ; at least by the Assistant, who sending word to us, may by our answer admit him a *local* Preacher.

2. " That such Preacher be not immediately taken from his trade, but be exhorted to follow it with all diligence.

3. " That no person shall be received as a *Travelling* Preacher, or be taken from his trade, by either of us alone, but by both of us conjointly, giving him a note from under both our hands.

4. " That neither of us will re-admit a *Travelling* Preacher laid aside, without the consent of the other.

5. " That if we should ever disagree in our judgment, we will refer the matter to Mr. *Perronet*.

6. " That we will entirely be patterns of all we expect from every Preacher ; particularly of zeal, diligence, and punctuality in the work : by constantly preaching and meeting the society : by visiting yearly, *Ireland, Cornwall*, and the North ; and in general by superintending the whole work, and every branch of it, with all the strength which God shall give us. We agree to the above written, till this day next year, in the presence of Mr. *Perronet*.

JOHN WESLEY.

CHARLES WESLEY.\*

Mr. *Charles Wesley* at this period thought it prudent to retire from the active situation he had hitherto engaged in ; reserving to himself, however, the right of speaking his mind freely to his brother in a friendly correspondence, on various occasions through the remaining part of his life.

About

\* This and several other articles that will be inserted in this volume, have been transcribed from Mr. *Charles Wesley's* papers written in shorthand ; which were put into Dr. *Whitehead's* hands after the first volume was published.

About this time Mr. *Wesley* received a letter from the Reverend Mr. *Milner*, who had been at *Chester*, and writes as follows, on the temper of the Bishop towards the *Methodists*. “The Bishop (says he) I was told, was exceeding angry at my late excursion into the North in your company. But found his lordship in much better temper than I was bid to expect by my brother *Graves*, who was so prudent, that he would not go with one so obnoxious to the Bishop’s displeasure, and all the storm of anger fell upon him. When he told me how he had been treated, for speaking in your defence, I was fully persuaded all the bitterness was past, and accordingly found it.—I told his lordship that God was with you of a truth; and he seemed pleased with the relation of the conversion of the barber at *Bolton*: and with your design of answering *Taylor’s* book on Original Sin.—I have made no secret of your manner of proceeding, to any with whom I have conversed, since I had the happiness of being in your company. And to the Bishop I was very particular in telling him, what an assembly of worshippers there is at *Newcastle*: how plainly the badge of *Christianity*, Love, is there to be seen. When his lordship talked about order, I begged leave to observe that I had nowhere seen such a want of it, as in his own cathedral; the Preacher so miserably at a loss, that the children took notice of it: and the choristers so rude, as to be talking and thrusting one another with their elbows. At last I told him, there was need of some extraordinary messengers from God, to call us back to the doctrines of the Reformation; for I did not know one of my brethren in *Lancashire*, that would give the church’s definition of faith, and stand to it.—And alas, I had sad experience of the same falling away in *Cheshire*;  
for

for one of his son's curates would not let me preach for him because of that definition of faith."

In the ensuing year, Mr. *Wesley* continued his labours and travels, with the same vigour and diligence, through various parts of *England* and *Ireland*. February 1753, he makes the following observations. "I now looked over Mr. *Prince's* history. What an amazing difference is there in the manner wherein God has carried on his work in *England*, and in *America*! There above an hundred of the established clergy, men of age and experience, and of the greatest note for sense and learning in those parts, are zealously engaged in the work. Here, almost the whole body of aged, experienced, learned clergy, are zealously engaged against it: and few but a handful of raw, young men engaged in it, without name, learning, or eminent sense! And yet by that large number of honourable men, the work seldom flourished above six months at a time, and then followed a lamentable and general decay, before the next revival of it: whereas that which God hath wrought by these despised instruments, has continually increased for fifteen years together: and at whatever time it has declined in any one place, it has more eminently flourished in others."

In April, he set out again for *Scotland*; not indeed for *Musselborough*, but to *Glasgow*, to which place he was invited by the pious and laborious Mr. *Gillies*, minister of the college-kirk. He staid here five days, preaching to very large and attentive congregations. Soon after he left *Glasgow*, Mr. *Gillies* wrote to him as follows:—"The singing of hymns here, meets with greater opposition than I expected. Serious people are much divided. Those of better understanding and education, are silent; but many  
others

others are so prejudiced, especially at the singing publicly, that they speak openly against it, and look upon me as left to do a very wrong or sinful thing. I beg your advice, whether to answer them only by continuing in the practice of the thing, with such as have freedom to join, looking to the Lord for a blessing upon his own ordinance: or, if I should publish a sheet of arguments from reason, and scripture, and the example of the godly.—Your experience of the most effectual way of dealing with people's prejudices, makes your advice on this head of the greater importance.

“ I bless the Lord for the benefit and comfort of your acquaintance: for your important assistance in my *Historical Collections*, and for your edifying conversation and sermons in this place. May our gracious God prosper you wherever you are. O my dear Sir, pray for your brother, that I may be employed in doing something for the advancement of his glory, who has done so much for me, and who is my only hope.”

In July, after one of the Preachers had been there for some time, Mr. *Wesley* crossed over from *Portsmouth* to the *Isle of Wight*. From *Cowes*, they went forward to *Newport*, the chief town of the *Isle*. Here they found a little society in tolerable order; several of whom had found peace with God, and walked in the light of his countenance. At half an hour after six he preached in the market-place to a numerous congregation: but many of them were remarkably ill-behaved. The children made much noise: and many grown persons were talking aloud most of the time he was preaching. “ There was (says Mr. *Wesley*) a large congregation again at five in the morning: and every person therein, seemed to know that this was the

the word whereby God would judge him in the last day. In the evening the congregation was more numerous, and far more serious than the night before; only one drunken man made a little disturbance, but the mayor ordered him to be taken away. In October, I visited them again, and spent three or four days with much comfort; finding those who had before professed to find peace, had walked suitably to their profession."

To know the whole of a man's character, it is not sufficient to view him as he always appears before the public; we wish to see him in his more retired moments, and particularly in his private correspondence. The two following letters will shew Mr. *Wesley's* temper in answering charges that were privately brought against him, either from prejudice or misapprehension. "You give (says he) five reasons why the Reverend Mr. *P.*— will come no more amongst us: 1. 'Because we despise the ministers of the church of *England*.'—This I flatly deny. I am answering letters this very post, which bitterly blame me for just the contrary. 2. 'Because so much back-biting, and evil-speaking is suffered amongst our people.'—It is not *suffered*: all possible means are used, both to prevent and remove it. 3. 'Because I, who have written so much against hoarding up money, have put out seven hundred pounds to interest.'—I never put six-pence out to interest since I was born; nor had I ever one hundred pounds together, my own, since I came into the world. 4. 'Because our Lay-Preachers have told many stories of my brother and me.'—If they did I am sorry for them: when I hear the particulars I can answer, and perhaps make those ashamed who believed them. 5. 'Because we did not help a friend in distress.'—We did help him as far



far as we were able. ‘But we might have made his case known to Mr. G—, Lady H—, &c.’ So we did more than once; but we could not pull money from them whether they would or no. Therefore these reasons are of no weight.—You conclude with praying, that God would remove pride and malice from amongst us. Of pride I have too much; of malice I have none: however the prayer is good and I thank you for it.”

The other letter from which we give an extract, was written apparently to a gentleman of some rank and influence. “Some time since, (says Mr. *Wesley*) I was considering what you said, concerning the want of a plan in our societies. There is a good deal of truth in this remark. For though we have a plan, as to our spiritual economy, (the several branches of which are particularly recited in the plain account of the people called *Methodists*,) yet it is certain, we have barely the first outlines of a plan with regard to our temporal concerns. The reason is, I had no design for several years, to concern myself with temporals at all: and when I began to do this, it was wholly and solely with a view to relieve, not employ, the poor; except now and then, with respect to a small number; and even this I found was too great a burden for me, as requiring more money, more time, and more thought, than I could possibly spare. I say, than I could possibly spare: for the whole weight lay on me. If I left it to others, it surely came to nothing. They wanted either understanding, or industry, or<sup>o</sup> love, or patience, to bring any thing to perfection.

“Thus far I thought it needful to explain myself with regard to the economy of our society. I am still

to speak of your case, of my own, and of some who are dependent upon me.

“ I do not recollect, for I kept no copy of my last, that I charged you with want of humility, or meekness. Doubtless these may be found in the most *splendid palaces*. But did they ever move a man to build a splendid palace ? Upon what motive you did this, I know not : but you are to answer it to God, not to me.

“ If your soul is as much alive to God, if your thirst after pardon and holiness is as strong, if you are as dead to the desire of the eye and the pride of life, as you were six or seven years ago, I rejoice ; if not, I pray God you may ; and then you will know how to value a real friend.

“ With regard to myself, you do well to warn me against, ‘ popularity, a thirst of power, and of applause ; against envy, producing a seeming contempt for the conveniencies or grandeur of this life ; against an affected humility ; against sparing from myself to give to others, from no other motive than ostentation.’ I am not conscious to myself, that this is my case. However, the warning is always friendly ; and it is always seasonable, considering how deceitful my heart is, and how many the enemies that surround me.—What follows I do not understand. ‘ You behold me in the ditch, wherein you helped, though innocently, to cast me, and with a *levitical* pity, passing by on the other side.—He and you Sir, have not any merit, though Providence should permit all these sufferings to work together for my good.’—I do not comprehend one line of this, and therefore cannot plead either guilty, or not guilty.—I presume, they are some that are dependent on me, ‘ Who, you say, keep not the commandments of God ; who

shew a repugnance to serve and obey ; who are as full of pride and arrogance, as of filth and nastiness ; who do not pay lawful debts, nor comply with civil obligations ; who make the waiting on the offices of religion, a plea for sloth and idleness ; who after I had strongly recommended them, did not perform their moral duty, but increased the number of those incumbrances which they forced on you, against your will.'—To this, I can only say, 1. I know not whom you mean ; I am not certain that I can so much as guess at one of them. 2. Whoever they are, had they followed my instructions, they would have acted in a quite different manner. 3. If you will tell me them by name, I will renounce all fellowship with them."—This letter gives us a pleasing view of the command Mr. *Wesley* had acquired over his own temper ; nothing but kindness and civility appear in it ; there is no keen retort for any charge brought against himself ; and nothing but tender concern for those who had not acted worthy of the character which he had given them.

October 19, Mr. *Wesley* returned to *London*, and the next day found himself indisposed. In a short time his complaint put on the appearance of an ague. Before he was perfectly recovered, he once or twice caught cold, and was presently threatened with a rapid consumption. November 26, Dr. *Fothergill* told him he must not stay in town one day longer : that if any thing would do him good, it must be the country air, with rest, asses milk, and riding daily. In consequence of this advice he retired to *Lewisham*. Here, not knowing how it might please God to dispose of him, and wishing "to prevent vile panegyric" in case of death, he wrote as follows :

Here

" Here lieth  
 The body of *John Wesley*,  
 A brand plucked out of the burning:  
 Who died of a consumption in the fifty-first year  
                     of his age.  
 Not leaving, after his debts are paid, ten pounds  
                     behind him :  
                     Praying,  
 God be merciful to me an unprofitable servant !"

He ordered that this, if any inscription, should be placed on his tomb-stone.

January 1, 1754, he returned to *London*, and the next day set out for the *Hot Wells*, near *Bristol*, to drink the water. On the 6th, he began writing Notes on the New Testament ;\* " A work, (says he) I should scarce ever have attempted, had I not been so ill as not to be able to travel or preach, and yet so well as to be able to read and write."—In April, he returned to *London*, and immediately retired to *Paddington*. Here he observes, " In my hours of walking, I read Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment of Mr. *Baxter's* Life.† What a scene is opened here ! In spite of all

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\* This valuable Work has been printed for the Methodist Book-room, in three duodecimo volumes,—price 1*l.* 6*s.*; and may be had of the Printer hereof.

† *Richard Baxter*, an eminent divine among the *Nonconformists*, was born at *Roupton* in *Shropshire*, November 12, 1615. He distinguished himself by his exemplary life, his pacific and moderate principles, and his numerous writings. Upon the opening of the long parliament, he was chosen vicar of *Kidderminster*. When *Oliver Cromwell* was made Protector, he would by no means comply with his measures, though he preached once before him. He came to *London* just before the deposing of *Richard Cromwell*, and preached before the Parliament, the day before they voted the return of King *Charles II.* who, upon his restoration, appointed

the prejudice of education, I could not but see, that the poor *Nonconformists* had been used without either justice or mercy : and that many of the *Protestant* bishops of King *Charles*, had neither more religion nor humanity, than the *Popish* bishops of Queen *Mary*.”—On reading Mr. *Baxter*’s history of the councils, Mr. *Wesley* uses very strong words indeed. “It is utterly astonishing, (says he) and would be wholly incredible, but that his vouchers are beyond all exception. What a company of execrable wretches have they been (one cannot give them a milder title) who have, almost in every age since *St. Cyprian*,  
taken

appointed him one of his chaplains in ordinary. He assisted at the Conference in the *Savoy*, as one of the commissioners for stating the fundamentals in religion, and then drew up a reformed Liturgy. He was offered the bishoprick of *Hereford*; but this he refused, desiring no higher preferment than to be continued the minister of *Kidderminster*. He did not obtain, however, his humble request, being not permitted to preach there above twice or thrice after the restoration. In 1682, he was seized for coming within five miles of a corporation: and in the reign of King *James II.* he was committed to the King’s Bench prison, and tried before the infamous *Jeffries* for his paraphrase on the New Testament, which, in the true spirit of the times, was called a *scandalous* and *seditious* book against the government. He continued in prison two years, when he was discharged, and had his fine remitted by the king.—He died in December 1691.

Mr. *Baxter* was honoured with the friendship of some of the greatest and best men in the kingdom; as the earl of *Balcarras*, lord chief justice *Hales*, Dr. *Tillotson*, &c. He wrote above one hundred and twenty books, and had above sixty written against him. The former, however, were greatly superior to the latter, since Dr. *Barrow*, an excellent judge, says, that “His practical writings were never mended, his controversial seldom refuted.”

Among his most famous works were, 1. The Saint’s Everlasting Rest. 2. Call to the unconverted, of which 20,000 were sold in one year; and it was translated, not only into all the *European* tongues, but into the *Indian*. 3. Poor Man’s Family Book. 4. Dying Thoughts. 5. A Paraphrase on the New Testament. His practical works have been printed in four volumes, folio.

taken upon them to govern the church! How has one council been perpetually cursing another; and delivering all over to Satan, whether predecessors or cotemporaries, who did not implicitly receive their determinations, though generally trifling, sometimes false, and frequently unintelligible, or self-contradictory! Surely *Mahometanism* was let loose to reform the *Christians*! I know not but *Constantinople* has gained by the change."

May 6, 1755, the Conference began at *Leeds*. "The points (says Mr. *Wesley*) on which we desired all the Preachers to speak their minds at large, was, whether we ought to separate from the church? Whatever was advanced on one side or the other, was seriously and calmly considered: and on the third day we were all fully agreed in that general conclusion, That, whether it was *lawful* or not, it was no ways *expedient*."

On the 13th, he rode on to *Newcastle*, where he did not find things in the order he expected. "Many (says he) were on the point of leaving the church, which some had done already; and as they supposed on my authority! O how much discord is caused by one jarring string! How much trouble by one man, who does not walk by the same rule, and agree in the same judgment with his brethren."

Mr. *Wesley* proceeds. "August 6, I mentioned to our congregation in *London*, a means of increasing serious religion, which had been frequently practised by our forefathers, the joining in a *Covenant* to serve God with all our hearts and with all our souls. I explained this for several mornings following; and on Friday many of us kept a fast unto the Lord, beseeching him to give us wisdom and strength, that we might *promise unto the Lord our God and keep it*. On  
Monday

Monday at six in the evening we met for that purpose, at the *French* church in *Spitalfields*. After I had recited the tenor of the covenant proposed, in the words of that blessed man, *Richard Allein*, all the people stood up, in token of assent, to the number of about eighteen hundred. Such a night I scarce ever knew before. Surely the fruit of it shall remain for ever.”—The covenant has been renewed once every year since this period.\*

January, 1756. The general expectation of public calamities in the ensuing year, spread a general seriousness over the nation. “ We endeavoured, (says Mr. *Wesley*) in every part of the kingdom, to avail ourselves of the apprehensions which we frequently found it was impossible to remove, in order to make them conducive to a nobler end, to that *fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom*. And at this season I wrote, ‘ An Address to the Clergy, which, considering the situation of public affairs, I judged would be more seasonable, and more easily borne, at this time than at any other.’—February 6, “ The fast-day was a glorious day, every church in the city was more than full: and a solemn seriousness sat on every face. Surely God heareth the prayer: and there will yet be a *lengthening of our tranquility*.—Even the *Jews* observed this day with a peculiar solemnity. The form of prayer which was used in their synagogue, began, ‘ Come and let us return unto the Lord; for he hath torn and he will heal us;’ and concluded with those remarkable words: ‘ Incline the heart of our sovereign lord King *George*, as well as the hearts of his lords and counsellors, to use us kindly, and all our brethren the children of *Israel*: that in his days and in our days we may see the restoration of

\* Generally on the first Sunday in January.

of *Judah*, and that *Israel* may dwell in safety, and the Redeemer may come to *Zion*. May it be thy will ! And we all say *Amen*."

In the latter end of March, he visited *Ireland* again, and after seeing the societies in *Leinster* and *Munster* went with Mr. *Walsh* into the province of *Connaught*. July 19, he first set foot in the province of *Ulster*. But several of the Preachers had been labouring in various parts of it for some years, and had seen much fruit of their labours. Many sinners had been convinced of the error of their ways ; many, truly converted to God : and a considerable number of these, had united together in order to strengthen each others hands in God.

August 25, Mr. *Wesley* came to *Bristol*; where he found about fifty Preachers, who had come from various parts of the country to hold a *Conference*, which was opened the next day. The rules of the society, the band rules, and the rules of *Kingswood-School*, were severally read and re-considered, and it was agreed to observe and enforce them.

The first and leading principle in the economy of *Methodism*, from its commencement to the present time, was not to form the people into a separate party ; but to leave every individual member of the society at full liberty to continue in his former religious connexion : nay, leaving every one under a kind of necessity of doing so, for the ordinance of baptism and the Lord's supper. Having established their societies on this principle, the *Methodists* became a kind of middle link between all the religious parties in the nation, gently drawing them nearer together by uniting them all in the interests of experimental religion and scriptural holiness. They formed a kind of central point, from which the rays of gospel light issued



issued forth, not in one direction alone, to irradiate only one point of their circumference, but in all directions, equally enlightening every part of their periphery. But two or three of the Preachers, who had acquired some influence with the people, had for some time been dissatisfied with this middle situation; the being no party, but standing in an equal relation to all, as *fellow-helpers to the truth*. We may observe (says Dr. *Whitehead*) that this dissatisfaction originated with a few Preachers, and from them spread, like a contagious disease, to the people. This was the case at first, and has always been the case since, wherever the people have desired any alteration in the original constitution of the *Methodist* societies. The method of proceeding, to effect their purpose, is rather curious, and shews to what means men will sometimes resort, to support a particular cause. For as soon as these Preachers had by various methods, influenced a few persons in any society to desire to receive the Lord's supper from them, they pleaded this circumstance as a reason why the innovation should take place. As a vast majority in these societies were members of the church of *England*, so the forming of the *Methodists* into a separate party, was called a separating them from the church; though it evidently implied a change in their relative situation to all denominations of Dissenters, as much as to the church. The clamour, however, for a separation from the church, had been raised so high by a few of the Preachers, that the subject was fully discussed for two or three days together, at this Conference; and Mr. *Wesley* observes, "My brother and I closed the Conference by a solemn declaration of our purpose never to separate from the church."

Some

Some of the regular clergy, who had embraced the leading doctrines of the *Methodists*, generally disapproved of Lay-Preachers, and of the plan of itinerancy; fearing with the rest of the clergy, that in the end a large rent would be made from the established church. In September, Mr. *Wesley* received a letter on this subject, from the reverend and pious Mr. *Walker* of *Truro*, pressing him to get the ablest Preachers ordained, and to fix the rest in different societies, not as Preachers but as readers, and thus break up the itinerant plan. Mr. *Wesley* answered, "I have one point in view, to promote, so far as I am able, vital, practical religion; and by the grace of God, to beget, preserve, and increase, the life of God in the souls of men. On this single principle I have hitherto proceeded, and taken no step but in subserviency to it. With this view, when I found it to be absolutely necessary for the continuance of the work which God had begun in many souls (which their *regular pastors* generally used all possible means to destroy) I permitted several of their brethren, whom I believed God had called thereto, and qualified for the work, to comfort, exhort, and instruct those who were athirst for God, or who walked in the light of his countenance. But as the persons so qualified were few, and those who wanted their assistance very many, it followed that most of them were obliged to travel continually from place to place; and this occasioned several regulations from time to time, which were chiefly made at our Conferences.

"So great a blessing has from the beginning attended the labours of these itinerants, that we have been more and more convinced every year, of the more than lawfulness of this proceeding. And the inconveniencies, most of which we foresaw from the very

very first, have been both fewer and smaller than we expected.—But the question is, ‘How may these (Preachers) be settled on such a footing, as one would wish they might be after my death;’ it is a weighty point, and has taken up many of my thoughts for several years : but I know nothing yet. The steps I am now to take are plain; I see broad light shining upon them; but the other part of the prospect I cannot see : clouds and darkness rest upon it.

“ Your *general* advice on this head, ‘To follow my own conscience, without any regard to consequences or prudence, so called,’ is unquestionably right. And it is a rule which I have closely followed for many years, and hope to follow to my life’s end. The first of your *particular* advices is, ‘To keep in full view the interests of *Christ’s* church in general, and of practical religion; not considering the church of *England*, or the cause of *Methodism*, but as subordinate thereto.’ This advice I have punctually observed from the beginning, as well as at our late Conference. You advise, 2. ‘To keep in view also, the unlawfulness of a separation from the church of *England*.’ To this likewise I agree. It cannot be lawful to separate from it, unless it be unlawful to continue in it. You advise, 3. ‘Fully to declare myself on this head, and to suffer no dispute concerning it.’ The very same thing I wrote to my brother from *Ireland* : and we have declared ourselves without reserve.—Your last advice is, ‘That as many of our Preachers as are ‘fit for it, be ordained; and that the others be fixed to certain societies, not as Preachers, but as readers or inspectors.’—But is that which you propose a better way (than our itinerant plan?)

plan?) This should be coolly and calmly considered.

“ If I mistake not, there are now in the county of *Cornwall*, about four and thirty of these little societies, part of whom now experience the love of God; part are more or less earnestly seeking it. Four Preachers, *Peter Jaco*, *Thomas Johnson*, *W. Crabb*, and *Will. Atwood*, design for the ensuing year, partly to call other sinners to repentance; but chiefly to feed and guide those few feeble sheep: to forward them, as the ability which God giveth, in vital, practical religion. Now suppose we can effect, that *P. Jaco*, and *T. Johnson*, be ordained and settled in the curacies of *Buryan*, and *St. Just*: and suppose *W. Crabb*, and *W. Atwood*, fix at *Launceston* or the *Dock*, as readers and inspectors; will this answer the end which I have in view, so well as travelling through the country?

“ It will not answer so well, even with regard to those societies with whom *P. Jaco*, and *T. Johnson*, have settled. Be their talents ever so great, they will ere long, grow dead themselves, and so will most of those who hear them. I know, were I myself to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep. Nor can I believe, it was ever the will of our Lord, that any congregation should have only one teacher. We have found by long and constant experience, that a frequent change of teachers is best. This Preacher has one talent, that another. No one whom I ever yet knew, has all the talents which are needful for beginning, continuing, and perfecting the work of grace in a whole congregation.

“ But suppose this would better answer the end with regard to those two societies, would it answer  
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in those where *W. Atwood* and *W. Crabb*, were settled as inspectors or readers? First, who shall feed them with the milk of the word? The ministers of their parishes? Alas, they cannot: they themselves neither know, nor live, nor teach the gospel. These readers? Can then, either they, or I, or you, always find something to read to our congregations, which will be as exactly adapted to their wants, and as much blessed to them as our preaching? and there is another difficulty still: what authority have I to forbid their doing what, I believe, God has called them to do? I apprehend, indeed, that there ought, if possible, to be both an outward and inward call to this work: yet if one of the two be supposed wanting, I had rather want the outward than the inward call.

“ But waving this, and supposing these four societies to be better provided for than they were before; what becomes of the other thirty? Will they prosper as well when they are left as sheep without a shepherd? The experiment has been tried again and again; and always with the same event: even the strong in faith grew weak and faint; many of the weak made shipwreck of the faith; the awakened fell asleep; and sinners, changed for a while, returned as a dog to his vomit. And so, by our lack of service, many souls perished for whom *Christ* died. Now had we willingly withdrawn our service from them, by voluntarily settling in one place, what account of this could we have given to the Great Shepherd of all our souls. I cannot therefore see, how any of those four Preachers, or any others in like circumstances, can ever, while they have health and strength, ordained or unordained, fix in one place without a grievous wound to their

their own conscience, and damage to the *general* work of God."

On the same day, that he wrote the above letter, he also wrote to Mr. *Norton*, who in a letter written about a week before, had charged him with 1. "Self-inconsistency, in tolerating *lay-preaching*, and not tolerating *lay-administering*: and 2. With shewing a spirit of *persecution*, in denying his brethren the liberty of *acting*, as well as *thinking*, according to their own *conscience*."

With regard to the first, Mr. *Wesley* allowed the *charge*, but denied the *consequence*. He declared, that he acted on the same principle, in tolerating the one and in prohibiting the other. "My principle, (said he)-is this, I submit to every ordinance of man wherever I do not conceive there is an absolute necessity for acting contrary to it. Consistently with this, I do tolerate *lay-preaching*, because I conceive there is an absolute necessity for it, inasmuch as were it not, thousands of souls would perish; yet I do not tolerate *lay-administering*, because, I do not conceive there is any such necessity for it."

With regard to the second, Mr. *Wesley* observes, "I again allow the fact; but deny the consequence. I mean, I allow the fact thus far: some of our Preachers who are *not ordained*, think it quite right to administer the Lord's supper, and believe it would do much good. I think it quite wrong, and believe it would do much hurt. Hereupon I say, I have no right over your conscience, nor you over mine: therefore both you and I must follow our own conscience. You believe, it is a duty to administer: do so; and herein follow your own conscience. I verily believe it is a sin; which, consequently, I dare not *tolerate*: and herein I follow mine. Yet this is no *persecution*, were I to

I to separate from our society, those who practise what I believe is contrary to the word and destructive of the work of God."

In December, Mr. *Wesley* wrote to a friend as follows: "I do not see that *Diocesan* episcopacy is *necessary*, but I do, that it is highly expedient. But whether it were or no, the spirit shewn in those verses, is wrong from end to end.

"Neither *J. E.* nor any other separatist, can ever be expected to own prejudice, pride, or interest, to be his motive. Nevertheless I do and must blame every one of them, for the act of separating. Afterwards, I leave them to God.

"The *Apostles* had not the *Lordships*, or the *Revenues*, but they had the office of *Diocesan* bishops. But let that point sleep: we have things to think of, which are, *magis ad nos*. Keep from proselyting others; and keep your opinion till doomsday; stupid, self-inconsistent, unprimitive, and unscriptural as it is.

"I have spoken my judgment concerning *lay-administering*, at large, both to *C—P—* and *N. Norton*. I went as far as I could with a safe conscience. I must follow my conscience, and they their own.—They who dissuade people from attending the church and sacrament, do certainly, "Draw them from the church."

Mr. *Wesley's* travels and labours of love, in preaching the gospel of peace through most parts of the three kingdoms, were continued with the same unremitting diligence, while the duties of his situation in some other respects, increased every year upon him. New societies were frequently formed in various places; which naturally called for an increase of Preachers. these, however, were more easily procured, than a stranger would imagine. The class and band meetings

ings were a fruitful nursery, where the most zealous and pious young men soon grew up to the requisite standard, to be transplanted into a higher situation, among the local or itinerant Preachers. But as the body increased, it became a more difficult task to regulate its economy, so as to preserve an equilibrium through all its parts, on which the health and vigour of the whole depended. The body became like a large machine, whose movements were exceedingly complex: and it depended on Mr. *Wesley*, not only to give the necessary impulse to put the whole in motion, but also every where to govern and direct its motions to the purposes-intended. This required great and continued attention, and a very extensive correspondence both with Preachers and people through the whole connexion. All this, however, he performed, by allotting to every hour of the day, wherever he was, its due proportion of labour.—From the present year, there is to be found little more than a recurrence of circumstances similar to those already related, till we come to the year 1760; when religious experience began to assume an appearance among the *Methodists*, in some respects quite new. The doctrine of justification, from 1738, had always been well understood among them; and from the time Mr. *Wesley* preached his sermon on the “Circumcision of the heart,” in 1733, before he understood the nature of justification, he had always held the doctrine of *Christian* perfection; which he explained by, loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves: that a person in this state felt nothing, in all situations, but the pure love of God, and perfect submission to his will; and nothing but benevolence, or good will to men. He never called this a state of *sinless* perfection, because he be-  
lieved



lieved there might still be errors in conduct arising from ignorance, which yet were consistent with pure love to God, and good-will to men. He did not suppose, that any man could stand one moment accepted of God, but by faith in *Christ Jesus*, through whom alone, his person and his actions in the highest state of perfection attainable in this life, can be accepted of God.

In the beginning of this year, there being a great revival of religion among the societies in *Yorkshire*, several professed, that at once, during prayer, their hearts were cleansed from all sin; that they were *cleansed from all unrighteousness*, or perfected in love: all which, were with them synonymous phrases. "Here, says Mr. *Wesley*, began that glorious work of sanctification, which had been nearly at a stand for twenty years; But from time to time it spread, first through various parts of *Yorkshire*, afterwards in *London*; then through most parts of *England*: next through *Dublin*, *Limerick*, and all the South and West of *Ireland*. And wherever the work of sanctification increased, the whole work of God increased in all its branches. Many were convinced of sin; many justified; and many backsliders healed."

In the spring and summer of this year, Mr. *Wesley* spent several months in *Ireland*. He staid about twenty days in *Dublin*, and then visited most parts of the kingdom. Dr. *Barnard*, then Bishop of *Derry*, was a warm friend to religion, and being convinced of Mr. *Wesley's* sincerity in his indefatigable labours to promote it, had a very sincere regard for him. The Bishop being disappointed in not seeing him when in *Dublin*; sent him the following letter.

" Reverend Sir,

REVEREND SIR,

“ It would have given me a very sincere pleasure to have seen you during your stay in *Dublin*; and I am concerned to find, that your having entertained any doubt of it, deprived me of that satisfaction. Indeed I did not expect your stay would have been so short.

“ Whether your expression, of our meeting no more on this side of eternity, refers to your design of quitting your visits to *Ireland*, or to any increase of bodily weakness, I do not read it without tender regret: however, that must be submitted to the disposal of Providence.—I pray God to bless you, and supply every want, and sanctify every suffering.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your loving brother and servant,

W. DERRY.”

In March 1761, Mr. *Wesley* set out for the North. In these journies he generally took a very large circuit, passing through the principal societies in most of the counties. He now visited several parts of *Scotland*, as far as *Aberdeen*; was favourably received, and, in *England* especially, saw the work in which he was engaged every where encreasing. In the beginning of July, he came to *York*, on his return, and was desired to call on a poor prisoner in the castle. “ I had formerly, says Mr. *Wesley*, occasion to take notice of an hideous monster, called a *Chancery-Bill*; I now saw the fellow to it, called a *Declaration*. The plain fact was this. Some time since, a man who lived near *Yarm*, assisted others in running some brandy. His share was worth near four pounds. After he had wholly left off that bad work, and was following his own business, that of a weaver, he was arrested and sent to *York* gaol. And not long after comes down a *Declaration*, “ That *Jac. Wh*— had landed a vessel laden with brandy and geneva, at the port of *London*,

and sold them there, whereby he was indebted to his Majesty five hundred and seventy-seven pounds, and upwards. And to tell this worthy story, the lawyer takes up thirteen or fourteen sheets of treble stamp paper.

“ O *England, England!* Will this reproach never be rolled away from thee? Is there any thing like this to be found, either among *Papists, Turks, or Heathens?* In the name of justice, mercy, and common sense, I ask, 1. Why do men lie, for lying sake? Is it only to keep their hands in? What need else of saying it was the port of *London?* when every one knew the brandy was landed, above three hundred miles from thence. What a monstrous contempt of truth does this shew, or rather hatred to it? 2. Where is the *justice* of swelling four pounds, into five hundred and seventy-seven? 3. Where is the *common sense*, of taking up fourteen sheets to tell a story, that may be told in ten lines? 4. Where is the *mercy*, of thus grinding the face of the poor? thus sucking the blood of a poor beggared prisoner. Would not this be execrable villainy, if the paper and writing together were only six-pence a sheet, when they have stript him already of his little all, and not left him fourteen groats in the world?”

It is certain that nothing can be fairly said in defence of some of our law proceedings. They are often absurd, highly oppressive to the subject, and disgraceful to a civilized nation. A man who robs on the highway is hanged; but a villain who robs by means of the chicanery, delay, and expence of the law, escapes with impunity.

The doctrine of an *instantaneous* attainment of Christian perfection spread rapidly, and numerous professors of it almost instantly sprung up, in various parts of the kingdom.

kingdom. But the zeal, and warm expressions of some of the Preachers concerning it, soon began to give offence. July 23, Mr. *Vimshaw* wrote to Mr. *Wesley* on the subject, and after apologizing for not attending the Conference then held at *Leeds*, he observes, "The disappointment is more my own loss than your's: for there are several things which have for some time been matter of so much uneasiness to me, that I thought, could they not at this time be somehow accommodated, I should be obliged to recede from the connexion; which to do, would have been one of the most disagreeable things in the world to me.—I would fain live and die in this happy relation I have for many years borne, and still bear to you.

"Two of the most material points were, concerning *imputed righteousness*, and *Christian perfection*. But as to the former, what you declared to be your notion of it, at *Heptonstall*, is so near mine that I am well satisfied. And as to the other, your resolutions in Conference are such, if *John Emmot* informs me right, as seem to afford me sufficient satisfaction.

"There are other matters more, but of not of equal importance, to which, notwithstanding cannot be reconciled. Such as asserting 'a child of God to be again a child of the Devil, if he give way to a temptation.—That he is a child of the Devil who disbelieves the doctrine of sinless perfection.—That is no true Christian who has not attained to it,' &c. &c. These are assertions very common with some of our Preachers, though in my apprehension too absurd and ridiculous to be regarded, and therefore by no means of equal importance with what is above said; and yet have a tendency, as the effect has already shewn, to distract and divide our societies.—You will perhaps say, 'Why did you not admonish them? Why did

you not endeavour to convince them of the error of such absurd assertions?—In some degree I have, though perhaps not so full or freely as I ought, or could have wished to have done: for I feared to be charged by them, perhaps secretly to yourself, with opposing them or their doctrines.—These things I mentioned to brother F, who declared, and I could not but believe him, that you did, and would utterly reject any such expressions. I am therefore in these respects more easy and shall if such occasions require, as I wish they never may, reprove and prevent them with plainness and freedom.

“ *Sinless* \* perfection is a grating term to many of our dear brethren; even to those who are as desirous and solicitous to be truly holy in heart and life, as any perhaps of those who affect to speak in this unscriptural way. Could we not discountenance the use of it, and advise its votaries to exchange it for terms less offensive, yet sufficiently expressive of true Christian holiness? By this I mean (and why may I not tell you what I mean?) all that holiness of heart and life, which, literally, plainly, abundantly, taught us all over the Bible; and without which no man, however justified through faith in the *righteousness of Christ*, can ever expect to see the Lord.—This is that holiness, that Christian perfection, that sanctification, which, without affecting *strange, fulsome, offensive, unscriptural* expressions and representations, I, and I dare say every true and sincere-hearted member in our societies, and I hope in all others, ardently desire and strenuously labour to attain.—This is attainable—for this therefore let us contend: to this let us diligently exhort and excite all our brethren daily; and this

\* It is observed before, that Mr. Wesley himself never used the term *sinless* perfection.

this the more as we see the day, the happy; the glorious day approaching.

“ I have only to add, that I am determined through the help of God, so far as I know, or see at present, to continue in close connexion with you, even unto death: and to be as useful as I am able, or is consistent with my *parochial*, and other indispensable obligations: chiefly in this round (circuit) and at times abroad; to strengthen your hands in the great and glorious work of our LORD, which you have evidently so much at heart, elaborately so much in hand, and in which, He, blessed for ever be his name, has so extensively and wonderfully prospered you.”\*

Immediately,

\* It may prove interesting to the reader, to receive a short account of that excellent man, and successful minister of Christ, the Rev. Mr. *Grimshaw*. He was born in September 1708, *Brindle*, six miles from *Preston* in *Lancashire*, and educated at the schools of *Blackburn* and *Heskin*, in the same county. Even then the thoughts of death and judgment made some impression upon him. At the age of eighteen he was sent to *Christ's College* in *Cambridge*; where bad example so carried him away, that he utterly lost all sense of seriousness. In 1731, he was ordained deacon, and seemed much affected with the importance of the ministerial office. This was increased by conversing with some serious people at *Rochdale*; but on his removal to *Todmorden* soon after, he dropped his pious acquaintance, conformed to the world, followed all its diversions, and contented himself with doing his duty on Sundays.

About the year 1734, he began to think seriously again. He left off all diversions, began to catechise the young people, to preach the absolute necessity of a devout life, and to visit his parishioners, to press them to seek the salvation of their souls. At this period also, he began to pray in secret four times a day: and the God of all grace, who prepared his heart to pray, soon gave the answer to his prayer. Not indeed as he expected: not in joy and peace, but by bringing upon him strong and painful convictions of his own guilt, helplessness, and misery; by discovering to him what he did not suspect before, that his heart was deceitful and desperately wicked; and, what was more afflicting still, that all his duties and labours could not procure

Immediately on the receipt of this letter, before the Conference quite broke up, Mr. *Wesley* took an opportunity of preaching from those words, *In many things we offend all*. On this occasion he observed, 1. "As long as we live, our soul is connected with the

procure him pardon, or give him a title to eternal life. In this trouble he continued more than three years, not acquainting any one with the distress he suffered. But one day, in 1742, being in the utmost agony of mind; he had so strong and clear a view of *Jesus Christ* in his mediatorial character, that he was enabled to believe on him with the heart unto righteousness; and in a moment all his fears vanished away, and he was filled with joy unspeakable. "I was now (says he) willing to renounce myself, and to embrace *Christ* for my all in all"—All this time he was an entire stranger to the people called *Methodists*, and also to their writings, till he came to *Haworth*.—Mr. *Grimshaw* was now too happy himself in the knowledge of *Christ* to rest satisfied, without taking every method he thought likely, to spread the knowledge of his God and Saviour. For the sake of the very indigent, who wanted clothes to appear decent at church in the day time, he contrived a lecture on the Sunday evenings, though he had before preached twice in the day. The next year he began a method, which he continued till death, of preaching in each of the four hamlets under his care, three times every month. By this means, the old and infirm, had the truth of God brought to their houses. The success of his labours, soon brought many persons from the neighbouring parishes to attend on his ministry; and the benefit they obtained, brought upon him many earnest entreaties to come to their houses, and expound the word of God to souls as ignorant as they had been themselves. This request he did not dare to refuse; so that, while he provided abundantly for his own flock, he annually found opportunity of preaching near three hundred times, to congregations in other parts.

For a course of fifteen years, or upwards, he used to preach every week, fifteen, twenty, and sometimes thirty times, besides visiting the sick, and other occasional duties of his function.—In sixteen years he was only once suspended from his labours by sickness, though he dared all weathers upon the bleak mountains, and used his body with less compassion, than a merciful man would use his beast.—He was exceedingly beloved by all his parishioners, many of whom could not hear his name mentioned after his death, without shedding tears.—Triumphing in Him who is the resurrection and the life, he died, April 7th, 1762, in the 54th year of his age, and the twenty-first of eminent usefulness.

the body. 2. As long as it is thus connected, it cannot think but by the help of bodily organs. 3. As long as these organs are imperfect, we are liable to mistakes, both speculative and *practical*: 4. Yea, and a mistake may occasion my loving a good man less than I ought; which is a defective, that is, a wrong temper. 5. For all these we need the atoning blood, as indeed for every defect or omission. Therefore, 6. All men have need to say daily, *forgive us our trespasses.*"

During the two following years, there was much noise throughout the societies concerning *perfection*: but more especially in *London*, where two or three persons who stood at the head of those professing to have attained that state, fell into some extravagant notions and ways of expression, more proper to be heard in *Bedlam* than in a religious society. One of the persons here alluded to, was *George Bell*, who was favoured by Mr. *Maxfield*; and they soon made a party in their favour.—When the plain declarations of scripture are disregarded, or even tortured by ingenuity or a wild imagination to a false meaning, what opinions can be so absurd, either in religion or philosophy, as not to find advocates for them? But this affords no just ground of objection against *scriptural* Christianity, or true *Christian* experience; any more than against sound philosophy. In the history of philosophers and of philosophy, we find opinions maintained, as absurd as the most illiterate enthusiast in religion ever published, nay as absurd as transubstantiation itself. And when religion has had the misfortune to fall under the sole direction of these philosophers, and been constrained by violence to put on their philosophic dress, she has had just cause to complain of as great an insult as ever she experienced  
from



from the most ignorant enthusiast. So little justice is there in the proud claim of reason in her present imperfect state, to assume the whole direction of our most holy religion! And so little cause has she, to triumph over the errors of a few mistaken professors of Christian experience!

Mr. *Wesley* did not, at first, resist these extravagances with sufficient firmness; by which the persons who favoured them daily increased in number. At length, however, he found it absolutely necessary to give an effectual check to the party: but now it was too late to be done, without the risk of a separation in the society. This, being the least of the two evils, accordingly took place: Mr. *Maxfield* withdrew from his connexion with Mr. *Wesley*, and carried near two hundred of the people with him.

During this contest, Mr. *Wesley* being at *Canterbury*, wrote to Mr. *Maxfield*, telling him very freely what he approved, and what he disapproved in his doctrine or behaviour. Among a variety of other things, Mr. *Wesley* tells him, "I like your doctrine of *perfection*, or pure love.—I dislike the saying, 'This was not known or taught among us, till within two or three years.'"

At this time the societies were so multiplied, and so widely spread, that they formed twenty-five extensive circuits in *England*, eight in *Ireland*, four in *Scotland*, and two in *Wales*: on which, it is supposed, about ninety Preachers were daily employed in propagating knowledge and Christian experience, among the lower orders of the people.

March 12, Mr. *Wesley* left *London*, and on the 16th came to *Bristol*, where he met several serious clergymen. He observes, "I have long desired that there might be an open, avowed union, between all who  
preach

preach those fundamental truths, "original sin; and justification by faith, producing inward and outward holiness. But all my endeavours have been hitherto ineffectual."—In April, however, he made one more attempt to promote so desirable an union. He wrote the following letter, which after some time he sent to between thirty and forty clergymen, with the little preface annexed.

" REVEREND SIR,

" Near two years and a half ago, I wrote the following letter. You will please to observe, 1. That I propose no more therein, than is the bounden duty of every Christian : 2. That *you* may comply with this proposal, whether any other does or not. I myself have endeavoured so to do for many years, though I have been almost alone therein; and although many, the more earnestly I *talk of peace* the more zealously *make themselves ready for battle*. I am

Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

" DEAR SIR.

" It has pleased God to give you both the will and the power to do many things for his glory, although you are often ashamed you have done so little, and wish you could do a thousand times more. This induces me to mention to you, what has been upon my mind for many years: and what I am persuaded would be much for the glory of God, if it could once be effected. And I am in great hopes it will be, if you heartily undertake it, trusting in him alone.

" Some years since God began a great work in *England*; but the labourers were few. At first those few were of one heart: but it was not so long. First one fell off, then another and another, till no two of us were left together in the work, besides my brother and me. This prevented much good, and occasioned much

much evil. It grieved our spirits, and weakened our hands. It gave our common enemies ~~th~~uge occasion to blaspheme. It perplexed and puzzled many sincere Christians. It caused many to draw back to perdition. I grieved the Holy Spirit of God.

“ As labourers increased, disunion increased. Offences were multiplied. And instead of coming nearer to, they stood further and further off from each other ; till at length those who were not only brethren in Christ, but fellow-labourers in his gospel, had no more connexion or fellowship with each other, than *Protestants* have with *Papists*.

“ But ought this to be? Ought not those who are united to one common head, and employed by him in one common work, to be united to each other? I speak now of those labourers, who are ministers of the church of *England*. These are chiefly—Mr. *Perronet*, *Romaine*, *Newton*, *Shirley*: Mr. *Downing*, *Jesse*, *Adam*: Mr. *Talbot*, *Ryland*, *Stillington*, *Fletcher*: Mr. *Johnson*, *Buddeley*, *Andrews*, *Jane*: Mr. *Hart*, *Symes*, *Brown*, *Roquet*: Mr. *Sellon*, *Venn*, *Richardson*, *Burnet*, *Furley*, *Crook*: Mr. *Eastwood*, *Conyers*, *Bentley*, *King*: Mr. *Berridge*, *Hicks*, *G. W. J. W. C. W. John Richardson*, *Benjamin Colley*.—Not excluding any other clergyman, who agrees in these essentials,

“ I. Original sin. II. Justification by faith. III. Holiness of heart and life : provided his life be answerable to his doctrine.

“ But *what union* would you desire among these ; Not an union in *opinions*. They might agree or disagree, touching absolute decrees on the one hand, and perfection on the other. —Not an union in *expressions*. Those may still speak of the *imputed righteousness*, and these of the *merits of Christ*. Not an union with regard to *outward order*. Some may still remain *quite regular* ; some *quite irregular* ; and some *partly regular*, and *partly irregular*. But these things being as they are, as each is persuaded in his own mind, is it not a most desirable thing, that we should,

“ 1. Remove

“ 1. Remove hindrances out of the way? Not judge one another, not *despise* one another, not *envy* one another? Not be *displeased* at one another's gifts or success, even though greater than our own? Not wait for one another's halting, much less wish for it, or *rejoice* therein?—Never *speak* disrespectfully, slightly, coldly, or unkindly of each other: never *repeat* each other's faults, mistakes, or infirmities, much less *listen* for and *gather* them up: never say or do any thing to hinder each other's usefulness, either directly or indirectly.

“ Is it not a most desirable thing, that we should 2. Love us brethren? *Think well* of, and *honour* one another? *Wish* all good, all grace, all gifts, all success, yea greater than our own, to each other? *Expect* God will answer our wish, *rejoice* in every appearance thereof, and *praise* him for it? *Readily believe* good of each other, as readily as we once believed evil?—*Speak* respectfully, honourably, kindly, of each other: *defend* each other's character: *speak* all the good we can of each other: recommend one another where we have influence: each *help* the other on in his work, and *enlarge* his influence by all the honest means we can.

“ This is the *union* which I have long sought after. And is it not the duty of every one of us so to do? Would it not be far better for *ourselves*? A means of promoting both our holiness and happiness? Would it not remove much *guilt* from those who have been faulty in any of these instances? And much *pain* from those who have kept themselves pure? Would it not be far better for the *people*? who suffer severely from the clashing of their leaders, which seldom fail to occasion many unprofitable, yea hurtful disputes among them. Would it not be better for the poor, blind *world*, robbing them of their sport? O they cannot agree among themselves! Would it not be better for the *whole work* of God, which would then deepen and widen on every side?

‘ But it will never be: it is utterly impossible.’ Certainly it is with *men*. Who imagines we can do this? That it can  
be

be effected by any human power? All nature is against it, every infirmity, every wrong temper and passion; love of honour and praise, of power and pre-eminence; anger, resentment, pride; long-contracted habit, and prejudice, lurking in ten thousand forms. The *Devil* and his angels are against it. For if this takes place, how shall his kingdom stand? All the world, all that know not God are against it, though they may seem to favour it for a season. Let us settle this in our hearts, that we may be utterly cut off from all dependance on our own strength or wisdom.

“ But surely *with God all things are possible*. Therefore *all things are possible to him that believeth*. And this union is proposed only to them that believe, and shew their faith by their works.—

I am, dear Sir,

Scarborough,

Your affectionate servant,

April 10, 1764.

J. W.”

This letter shews Mr. *Wesley's* tolerant principles in a strong light. Happy would it have been for the professors of religion, had the same spirit of brotherly-love and mutual forbearance, prevailed in the hearts of all who preached the essential doctrines of the gospel. But this was not the case: of all the clergymen to whom this desirable union was proposed, only three vouchsafed to return him an answer!

Mr. *Wesley* continued his travels and labours, with the usual diligence and punctuality through all the societies in *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*; and his health and strength were wonderfully preserved. In October, 1765, he observes, “ I breakfasted with Mr. *Whitefield*, who seemed to be an old, old man, being fairly worn out in his Master's service, though he has hardly seen fifty years. And yet it pleases God, that I, who am now in my sixty-third year, find no disorder, no weakness, no decay, no difference

ence from what I was at five and twenty: only that I have fewer teeth, and more grey hairs!"—Soon after he adds, "Mr. *Whitefield* called upon me. He breathes nothing but peace and love. Bigotry cannot stand before him, but hides its head wherever he comes."

Mr. *Wesley* received sixty pounds *per annum*, from the society in *London*, which is the salary that every clergyman receives, who officiates among them. But individuals in various places frequently gave him money; legacies were sometimes left him, and the produce of his books, in the latter part of life was considerable. It is well known, however, that he hoarded nothing at the end of the year. He even contracted his expences as much as possible, and gave the surplus to the poor, and those who might through misfortunes, be in want. His charitable disposition may appear from the following little circumstance, which strongly points out the tender feelings of his mind, under a consciousness that he had not given in proportion to the person's want. In November, 1766, a foreigner in distress called upon him, and gave him a *Latin* letter, begging some relief. Shortly after Mr. *Wesley*, reflecting on the case, wrote on the back of the letter, "I let him go with five shillings: I fear he is starving. Alas!"

The world has seldom seen a man of strong powers of mind, of first rate talents, who has not laboured under some peculiar weakness, or mental infirmity; which men of little minds, capable only of observing defects, have frequently made the object of ridicule. Numerous instances might easily be produced; both among philosophers and divines. Mr. *Wesley's* chief weakness was, a too great readiness to credit the testimony of others, when he believed them sincere, without

without duly considering whether they had sufficient ability and caution to form a true judgment of the things concerning which they bore testimony. In matters, therefore, which depended wholly on the evidence of other persons, he was often mistaken. Mr. *Charles Wesley*, was in the opposite extreme; full of caution and suspicion. But he was fully sensible both of his own, and of his brother's weakness, and wrote to him as follows; "When you fear the worst, your fears should be regarded: and when I hope the best, you may almost believe me. Your defect of mistrust, needs my excess to guard it. You cannot be taken by storm, but you may by surprise. We seem designed for each other. If we could and would be oftener together, it might be better for both.—Let us be useful in our lives, and at our death not divided."

It was owing to the weakness above mentioned, that Mr. *Wesley* so easily believed most of the stories he heard, concerning *witchcraft* and *apparitions*. And though this is by many deemed a subject of ridicule rather than of serious argument, yet, it is but just to let Mr. *Wesley* plead his own cause, and assign the reasons of his faith in the persons who have stated the appearance of departed spirits as a matter of fact, of which they themselves were the witnesses. This he did in 1768. After stating, that there were several things in these appearances which he did not comprehend, he adds, "But this is with me a very slender objection. For what is it which I do comprehend, even of the things I see daily? Truly not, 'The smallest grain of sand, or spire of grass.'—What pretence have I then to deny well-attested facts, because I cannot comprehend them?"

"It is true likewise, that the *English* in general, and most of the men of learning in *Europe*, have given

given up all accounts of witches and apparitions, as mere old wives' fables. I am sorry for it: and I willingly take this opportunity of entering my solemn protest against this violent compliment, which so many that believe the Bible, pay to those who do not believe it. I owe them no such service. I take knowledge, these are at the bottom of the outcry which has been raised, and with such insolence spread throughout the nation, in direct opposition not only to the Bible, but to the suffrage of the wisest and best of men in all ages and nations. They well know, whether Christians know it or not, that the giving up witchcraft, is in effect giving up the Bible. And they know on the other hand, that if but one account of the intercourse of men with separate spirits be admitted, their whole castle in the air, Deism, Atheism, Materialism, falls to the ground. I know no reason therefore, why we should suffer even this weapon to be wrested out of our hands. Indeed there are numerous arguments besides, which abundantly confute their vain imaginations. But we need not be hooted out of one: neither reason or religion require this.

“ One of the capital objections to all these accounts, which I have known urged over and over, is this, ‘ Did you ever see an apparition yourself?’ No: nor did I ever see a murder. Yet I believe there is such a thing.—Therefore I cannot as a reasonable man deny the fact although I never saw it, and perhaps never may. The testimony of unexceptionable witnesses fully convinces me, both of the one and the other.”

In September this year, Mr. *Wesley* wrote the following letter to Mr. *James Morgan*, on a point of doctrine.

“ I have



"I have been thinking much of you, says Mr. *Wesley*, and why should I not tell you all I think and all I fear concerning you?

"I think all you said at the Conference, upon the subject at the late debates, was right. And it amounted to no more than this: 'The general rule is, they who are in the favour of God, know they are so. But there may be some exceptions. Some may fear and love God, and yet not be clearly conscious of his favour: at least they may not dare to affirm, that their sins are forgiven.' If you put the case thus, I think no man in his senses will be under any temptation to contradict you. For none can doubt, but whoever loves God, is in the favour of God. But is not this a little mis-stating the case? I do not conceive the question turned here. But you said, or was imagined to say, 'All penitents are in God's favour;' or 'All who mourn after God are in the favour of God.' And this was what many disliked: because they thought it was unscriptural, and unsafe, as well as contrary to what we have always taught. That this is contrary to what we always taught, is certain, as all our hymns as well as other writings testify: so that (whether it be true or not) it is without all question, a *new* doctrine among the *Methodists*. We have always taught that a *penitent* mourned or was pained on this very account, because he felt, he was 'not in the favour of God,' but had *the wrath of God abiding on him*. Hence we supposed the language of his heart to be, 'Lost and undone for aid I cry!' And we believed he really was 'lost and undone,' till God did

'Peace, joy, and righteousness impart,  
And speak himself into his heart.'

"And I still apprehend this to be *scriptural* doctrine; confirmed not by a few detached texts, but by the whole tenor of scripture; and more particularly of the Epistle to the *Romans*. But if so, the contrary to it must be unsafe, for that general reason, because it is unscriptural. To which one may add the particular reason, that it naturally tends to lull mourners to sleep; to make them say, 'Peace, peace to their  
souls

souls, when there is no peace.' It directly tends to damp and stifle their conviction, and to encourage them in sitting down contented, before *Christ* is revealed in them, and before his spirit witnesses with their spirit that they are children of God. But it may be asked, 'Will not this discourage mourners?' Yes, it will discourage them from stopping where they are, it will discourage them from resting before they have the witness in themselves, before *Christ* is revealed in them. But it will encourage them, to seek him in the gospel way; to ask till they receive pardon and peace. And we are to encourage them, not by telling them they are in the favour of God, though they do not know it (such a word as this we should never utter in a congregation, at the peril of our souls); but by assuring them 'every one that seeketh, findeth; every one that asketh receiveth.'

"I am afraid you have not been sufficiently wary in this; but have given occasion to them that sought occasion. But this is not all. I doubt you did not see God's hand in *Shimei's* tongue. Unto you *it was given* to suffer a little, of what you extremely wanted, obloquy and evil report. But you did not acknowledge either the gift or the giver: you saw only *T. O.* not God. O *Jemmy* you do not know yourself. You cannot bear to be continually steeped in poison: in the esteem and praise of men. Therefore, I tremble at your stay in *Dublin*. It is the most dangerous place for you under heaven. All I can say is, God can preserve you in the fiery furnace, and I hope will."

On Friday, August 4, 1769, Mr. *Wesley* read the following paper in the Conference, containing the outlines of a plan for the future union of the *Methodist Preachers*.

"It has long been my desire, that all those ministers of the church, who believe and preach salvation by faith, might cordially agree between themselves, and not hinder, but help one another. After occasionally pressing this in private conversation, wherever I had opportunity, I wrote down my thoughts on this head, and sent them to each in a letter. Only three vouchsafed to give me an answer: So I give this

up. I can do no more. They are a rope of sand; and such they will continue.\*

“ But it is otherwise with the *Travelling Preachers* in our connexion. You are at present one body: you act in concert with each other, and by united counsels. And now is the time to consider what can be done, in order to continue this union? Indeed, as long as I live, there will be no great difficulty: I am, under God, a centre of union to all our *travelling* as well as *local* Preachers.

“ They all know me, and my communication. They all love me for my work’s sake: and therefore, were it only out of regard to me, they will continue connected with each other. But by what means may this connexion be preserved, when God removes me from you?

“ I take it for granted, it cannot be preserved by any means, between those who have not a single eye. Those who aim at any thing but the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, who desire, or seek any earthly thing, whether honour, profit, or ease; will not, cannot continue in the connexion: it will not answer their design.\* Some of them, perhaps a *fourth* of the whole number, will procure preferment in the church: others will turn Independents, and get separate congregations.—Lay your accounts with this, and be not surprised, if some you do not suspect, be of this number.

“ But what method can be taken to preserve a firm union between those who choose to remain together.†

“ Perhaps you might take some such steps as these.—On notice of my death, let all the Preachers in *England* and *Ireland* repair to *London*, within six weeks.—Let them seek God by solemn fasting and prayer.—Let them draw up articles of agreement, to be signed by those who choose to act

\* Mr. Wesley, through the whole of this extract, speaks of the Preachers continuing in connexion with each other, on the original plan of Methodism.

† That is, upon the original plan of Methodism.

act in concert.—Let those he dismissed who do not choose it in the most friendly manner possible.—Let them choose by votes, a *committee* of three, five, or seven, each of whom is to be *moderator* in his turn.—Let the *committee* do what I do now : propose Preachers to be *tried, admitted, or excluded* : fix the place of each Preacher for the ensuing year, and the time of the next Conference.

“ Can any thing be done now, in order to lay a foundation for this future union? Would it not be well for any that are willing, to sign some articles of agreement, before God calls me hence? Suppose something like these :

“ We, whose names are underwritten, being thoroughly convinced of the necessity of a close union between those whom God is pleased to use as instruments in this glorious work, in order to preserve this union between ourselves, are resolved, God being our helper, I. To *devote ourselves entirely to God* ; denying ourselves, taking up our cross daily, steadily aiming at one thing, to save our own souls, and them that hear us. II. To *preach the old Methodist doctrines*, and no other ; contained in the *minutes* of the Conferences. III. To observe and enforce, the whole *Methodist discipline*, laid down in the said *Minutes*.”

These articles were then signed by many of the Preachers. But some years afterwards, others had influence enough, however, to prevail upon Mr. *Wesley* to relinquish the present plan, and leave the mode of union among the Preachers after his death, to their own deliberations.

Two Preachers had gone over to *America* some time before ; though, it is apprehended, not by Mr. *Wesley's* authority. At the Conference, however, this year, he sent two, Mr. *Boardman* and *Pillmoor*, to preach and take charge of the societies in *America*, where *Methodism* began soon to flourish.

Mr. *Wesley* saw the work in which he was engaged spread on every side. In 1770, he was able to reckon

forty-nine circuits in *England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales*: and one hundred and twenty-two *itinerant* Preachers under his direction; besides about double the number of *local* Preachers, who did not quit their usual occupations.

This year, the larger *Minutes of Conference*, were printed. The following *abstract*, from them, will nearly complete our view of the economy of the *Methodist* societies.

Q. 1. "Have our Conferences been as useful as they might have been?"

A. "No: we have been continually straitened for time. Hence, scarce any thing has been searched to the bottom. To remedy this, let every Conference last nine days, concluding on Wednesday in the second week.

Q. 2. "What may we reasonably believe to be God's design, in raising up the Preachers called *Methodists*?"

A. "Not to form any new sect; but to reform the nation, particularly the church: and to spread scriptural holiness over the land.

Q. 3. "Is it advisable for us to preach in as many places as we can, without forming any societies?"

A. "By no means; we have made the trial in various places: and that for a considerable time. But all the seed has fallen as by the highway-side. There is scarce any fruit remaining.

Q. 4. "Where should we endeavour to preach most?"

A. "1. Where there is the greatest number of quiet and willing hearers: 2. Where there is most fruit.

Q. 5. "Is field-preaching unlawful?"

A. "We conceive not. We do not know that it is contrary to any law either of God or man.

Q. 6. "Have we not used it too sparingly?"

A. "It seems we have: 1. Because our call is, to save that which is lost. Now we cannot expect them to seek us. Therefore we should go and seek *them*. 2. Because we are particularly

particularly called, by *going into the highways and hedges* (which none else will do) *to compel them to come in*. 3. Because that reason against it is not good, 'The house will hold all that come.' The house may hold all that *come* to the house; but not all that would *come* to the field.

"The greatest hindrance to this you are to expect from rich, or cowardly, or lazy *Methodists*. But regard them not, neither stewards, leaders, nor people. Whenever the weather will permit, go out in God's name, into the most public places, and call all to repent and believe the Gospel: every Sunday, in particular: especially where there are old societies, lest they settle upon their lees.

"The stewards will frequently oppose this, lest they lose their usual collection. But this is not a sufficient reason against it. Shall we barter souls for money?

Q. 7. "Ought we not diligently to observe, in what places God is pleased at any time to pour out his spirit more abundantly?

A. "We ought: and at that time to send more labourers than usual into that part of the harvest.

"But whence shall we have them? 1. So far as we can afford it, we will keep a reserve of Preachers at *Kingswood*: 2. Let an exact list be kept of those who are proposed for trial, but not accepted.

Q. 8. "How often shall we permit strangers to be present at the meeting of the society?

A. "At every other meeting of the society in every place, let no stranger be admitted. At other times they may; but the same person not above twice or thrice. In order to this, see that all in every place shew their tickets before they come in. If the stewards and leaders are not exact herein, employ others that have more resolution.

Q. 9. "Can any thing further be done, in order to make the meetings of the classes lively and profitable?

A. "1. Change improper leaders:

"2. Let the leaders frequently meet each other's classes.

"3. Let

" 3. Let us observe, which leaders are the most useful, and let these meet the other classes as often as possible.

" 4. See that all the leaders be not only men of sound judgment, but men truly devoted to God.

Q. 10. " How can we further assist those under our care ?

A. " 1. By meeting the married men and women together, the first Sunday after the visitation; the single men and women apart, on the two following, in all the large societies: this has been much neglected.

" By instructing them at their own houses. What unspeakable need is there of this? The world say, ' The *Methodists* are no better than other people.' This is not true. But it is nearer the truth, than we are willing to believe. \*

" N. B. For 1. Personal religion either toward God or man, is amazingly superficial among us.

" I can but just touch on a few generals. How little faith is there among us? How little communion with God? How little living in heaven, walking in eternity, deadness to every creature? How much love of the world? Desire of pleasure, of ease, of getting money?

" How little brotherly-love? What continual judging one another? What gossiping, evil-speaking, tale-bearing? What want of moral honesty? To instance only in one or two particulars.

Who does as he would be done by, in buying and selling? Particularly in selling horses? Write him a knave that does not. And the *Methodist* knave is the worst of all knaves.

" 2. Family religion is shamefully wanting, and almost in every branch.

" And the *Methodists* in general will be little the better till we take quite another course with them. For what avails *public preaching alone*, though we could preach like angels?

" We must, yea every travelling Preacher, must instruct them *from house to house*. Till this is done, and that in good

good earnest, the *Methodists* will be little better than other people.

“ Let every Preacher, having a catalogue of those in each society, go to each house. Deal gently with them, that the report of it may move others to desire your coming. Give the children, ‘ The Instructions for Children,’ and encourage them to get them by heart. Indeed you will find it no easy matter to teach the ignorant the principles of religion. So true is the remark of Archbishop *Usher*. ‘ Great Scholars may think this work beneath them. But they should consider, the laying the foundation skilfully, as it is of the greatest importance, so it is the master-piece of the wisest builder. And let the wisest of us all try, whenever we please. we shall find, that to lay this ground work rightly, to make the ignorant understand the grounds of religion, will put us to the trial of all our skill.’

“ Perhaps in doing this it may be well; after a few loving words spoken to all in the house, to take each person singly into another room, where you may deal closely with him, about his sin, and misery, and duty. Set these home, or you lose all your labour: do this in earnest, and you will soon find what a work you take in hand, in undertaking to be a travelling Preacher.

Q. 11. “ How shall we prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the society ?

A. “ 1. Give tickets to none till they are recommended by a leader, with whom they have met at least two months on trial. 2. Give notes to none but those who are recommended by one you know, or till they have met three or four times in a class. 3. Give them the rules the first time they meet. See that this be never neglected.

Q. 12. “ Should we insist on the band-rules ? Particularly with regard to dress ?

“ By all means. This is no time to give any encouragement to superfluity of apparel. Therefore give no band-tickets to any, till they have left off superfluous ornaments. In order to this, 1. Let every assistant read the Thoughts upon



upon dress, at least once a year, in every large society. 2. In visiting the classes, be very mild, but very strict. 3. Allow no exempt case, not even of a married woman. Better one suffer than many. 4. Give no ticket to any that wear calashes, high-heads, or enormous bonnets.

“ To encourage meeting in band, 1. In every large society, have a love-feast quarterly for the bands only. 2. Never fail to meet them once a week. 3. Exhort every believer to embrace the advantage. 4. Give a band-ticket to none till they have met a quarter on trial.

“ Observe! You give none a band-ticket, *before* he meets, but *after* he has met?

Q. 13. “ Do not Sabbath-breaking, dram-drinking, evil-speaking, unprofitable conversation, lightness, expensiveness or gaiety of apparel, and contracting debts without due care to discharge them, still prevail in several places? How may these evils be remedied?

A. “ 1. Let us preach expressly on each of these heads. 2. Read in every society the sermon on evil-speaking. 3. Let the leaders closely examine and exhort every person to put away the accursed thing. 4. Let the Preacher warn every society, that none who is guilty herein can remain with us. 5. Extirpate smuggling, buying, or selling uncustomed goods, out of every society. Let none remain with us, who will not totally abstain from every kind and degree of it. Speak tenderly, but earnestly and frequently of it, in every society near the coasts. And read to them, and diligently disperse among them, ‘ The Word to a Smuggler.’ 6. Extirpate bribery, receiving any thing, directly or indirectly, for voting in any election. Shew no respect of persons herein, but expel all that touch the accursed thing. Largely shew, both in public and private, the wickedness of thus selling our country. And every where read ‘ The Word to a Freeholder,’ and disperse it with both hands.

Q. 14. “ What shall we do to prevent scandal, when any of our members become bankrupt?

A. “ Let

A. "Let the assistant talk with him at large. And if he has not kept fair accounts, or has been concerned in that base practice, of raising money by *coining notes*, (commonly called the *bill-trade*) let him be expelled immediately.

Q. 15. "What is the office of a Christian *Minister* ?

A. "To watch over souls, as he that must give account.

Q. 16. "In what view may we and our *helpers* be considered ?

A. "Perhaps as extraordinary messengers (*i. e.* out of the ordinary way) designed. 1. To provoke the regular Ministers to jealousy. To supply their lack of service, toward those who are perishing for want of knowledge. But how hard is it to abide here? Who does not wish to be a little higher? Suppose, to be *ordained*!

Q. 17. "What is the office of an *helper* ?

A. "In the absence of a Minister, to feed and guide the flock: in particular,

"1. To preach morning and evening. (But he is never to begin later in the evening than seven o'clock, unless in particular cases.)

"2. To meet the society and the bands weekly.

"3. To meet the leaders weekly.

"Let every Preacher be particularly exact in this, and in the morning-preaching. If he has twenty hearers let him preach. If not, let him sing and pray.

"N. B. We are fully determined, never to drop the morning-preaching: and to continue preaching at five, wherever it is practicable, particularly, in *London* and *Bristol*.

Q. 18. "What are the rules of an helper ?

A. "1. Be diligent. Never be unemployed a moment. Never be triflingly employed. Never *while away* time: neither spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary.

"2. Be serious. Let your motto be, holiness to the Lord. / Avoid all lightness, jesting, and foolish talking.

"3. Converse

“ 3. Converse sparingly and cautiously with women: particularly with young women.

“ 4. Take no step toward marriage, without first consulting with your brethren.

“ 5. Believe evil of no one: unless you see it done, take heed how you credit it. Put the best construction on every thing. You know the judge is always supposed to be on the prisoner's side.

“ 6. Speak evil of no one: else *your* word especially, would eat as doth a canker: keep your thoughts within your own breast, till you come to the person concerned.

“ 7. Tell every one what you think wrong in him, and that plainly as soon as may be: else it will fester in your heart. Make all haste to cast the fire ~~out~~ of your bosom.

“ 8. Do not affect the gentleman. You have no more to do with this character, than with that of a dancing-master. A Preacher of the Gospel is the servant of all.

“ 9. Be ashamed of nothing but sin: not of fetching wood (if time permit) or drawing water: not of cleaning your own shoes, or your neighbours.

“ 10. Be punctual. Do every thing exactly at the time. And in general, do not *mend* our rules, but *keep* them: not for wrath, but for conscience sake.

“ 11. You have nothing to do, but to save souls. Therefore spend and be spent in this work. And go always, not only to those that want you, but to those that want you most.

“ Observe. It is not your business, to preach so many times, and to take care of this or that society: but to save as many souls as you can; to bring as many sinners as you possibly can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness, without which they cannot see the Lord. And remember! A *Methodist* Preacher is to mind every point, great and small, in the *Methodist* discipline! Therefore you will need all the sense you have: and to have all your wits about you!

“ 12 Act

“ 12. Act in all things, not according to your own will, but as a son in the Gospel. As such it is your part to employ your time, in the manner which we direct: partly in preaching and visiting from house to house: partly in reading, meditation, and prayer. Above all, if you labour with us in our Lord’s vineyard, it is needful that you should do *that part* of the work which we advise, at *those times and places* which we judge most for his glory.

Q. 19. “ What *power* is this, which you exercise over both the Preachers and societies?

A. “ 1. In November, 1738, two or three persons who desired to flee from the wrath to come, and then a few more came to me in *London*, and desired me to advise, and pray with them. I said, ‘ If you will meet me on Thursday night, I will help you as well as I can.’ More and more then desired to meet with them, till they were increased to many hundreds. The case was afterwards the same at *Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle*, and many other parts of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It may be observed, the desire was on *their* part, not *mine*. My desire was, to live and die in retirement. But I did not see, that I could refuse them my help, and be guiltless before God.

“ Here commenced my *power*; namely, a power to appoint *when*, and *where*, and *how* they should meet; and to remove those whose lives shewed that they had not a desire to flee from the wrath to come. And this power remained the same, whether the people meeting together were twelve, or twelve hundred, or twelve thousand.

“ 2. In a few days some of them said, ‘ Sir, we will not sit under you for nothing: we will subscribe quarterly.’ I said, ‘ I will have nothing: for I want nothing. My fellowship supplies me with all I want.’ One replied, ‘ Nay, but you want *an hundred and fifteen pounds* to pay for the lease of the foundery: and likewise a large sum of money, to put it into repair.’ On this consideration I suffered them to subscribe. And when the society met, I asked, ‘ Who will take the trouble of receiving this money, and paying it,

it, where it is needful?' One said, 'I will do it, and keep the account for you.' So here, was the first *steward*. Afterward I desired one or two more to help me as stewards, and in process of time, a greater number.

" Let it be remarked, it was *I myself*, not the people who chose these stewards, and appointed to each the distinct work, wherein he was to help me, as long as I desired. And herein I began to exercise another sort of *power*, namely, that of *appointing* and *removing* stewards.

" 3. After a time a young man named *Thomas Maxfield*, came and desired to help me as a son in the Gospel. Soon after came a second, *Thomas Richards*, and then a third, *Thomas Westall*. These severally desired to serve me as sons, and to labour *when* and *where* I should direct. Observe. These likewise desired *me*, not *I them*. But I durst not refuse their assistance. And here commenced my *power*, to appoint each of these, *when* and *where*, and *how* to labour: that is, while he chose to continue with me. For each had a power to go away when he pleased: as I had also to go away from them, or any of them, if I saw sufficient cause. The case continued the same, when the number of Preachers increased. I had just the same power still, to appoint *when*, and *where*, and *how* each should help me; and to tell any (if I saw cause) 'I do not desire your help any longer.' On these terms, and no other, we joined at first: on these we continue joined. But they do me no favour in being directed by me. It is true, my *reward is with the Lord*. But at present I have nothing from it but trouble and care; and often a burden, I scarce know how to bear.

" 4. In 1744, I wrote to several clergymen, and to all who then served as sons in the Gospel; desiring them to meet me in *London*; and to give me their advice, concerning the best method of carrying on the work of God. And when their number increased, so that it was not convenient to invite them all, for several years I wrote to those with whom I desired to confer, and they only met me at *London*, or elsewhere: till at length I gave a general permission, which I afterwards saw cause to retract.

" Observe.

“ Observe. I myself sent for these of my own free choice. And I sent for them to *advise*, not to *govern* me. Neither did I at any time divest myself of any part of the power above described, which the Providence of God had cast upon me, without any design or choice of mine.

“ 5. What is that *power*? It is a power of *admitting* into and *excluding* from the societies under my care: of choosing and removing *stewards*: of receiving or not receiving *helpers*: of appointing them *when, where, and how* to help me, and of desiring any of them to *confer* with me when I see good. And as it was merely in obedience to the Providence of God, and for the good of the people, that I at first accepted this power, which I never sought: so it is on the same consideration, not for profit, honour, or pleasure, that I use it at this day.

“ But ‘several gentlemen are offended at your having so much power.’ I did not seek any part of it. But when it was come unawares, not daring to bury that talent,\* I used it to the best of my judgment. Yet I never was fond of it. I always did, and do now, bear it as my burden; the burden which God lays upon me, and therefore I dare not lay it down.

“ But if you can tell me any one, or any five men, to whom I may transfer this burden, who *can* and *will* do just what I do now, I will heartily thank both them and you.

Q. 20. “ What reasons can be assigned why so many of our Preachers contract nervous disorders?

A. “ The chief reason, on Dr. *Cudogan’s* principles, is either indolence or intemperance, 1. Indolence. Several of them use too little *exercise*, far less than when they wrought at their trade. And this will naturally pave the way for many, especially nervous disorders. 2. Intemperance, (though not in the vulgar sense.) They take more *food* than they did when they laboured more. And let any man of reflection judge, how long this will consist with health. Or they use more *sleep* than when they laboured more. And this alone  
will

will destroy the firmness of the nerves. If then our Preachers would avoid nervous disorders, let them, 1. Take as little meat, drink, and sleep, as nature will bear: and, 2. Use full as much exercise daily as they did before they were Preachers.

Q. 21. "What general method of employing our time would you advise us to?"

A. "We advise you, 1. As often as possible to rise at four. 2. From four to five in the morning, and from five to six in the evening, to meditate, pray, and read, partly the scripture with the notes, partly the closely practical parts of what we have published. 3. From six in the morning till twelve (allowing an hour for breakfast) to read in order, with much prayer, first, the Christian library, and the other books which we have published in prose and verse, and then those which we recommended in our rules of *Kingswood-School*.

Q. 22. "Should our helpers follow trades?"

A. "The question is not, Whether they may occasionally work with their hands, as *St. Paul* did: but whether it be proper for them to keep shop or follow merchandize? After long consideration, it was agreed by all our brethren, That no Preacher who will not relinquish his trade of buying and selling (though it were only pills, drops, or balsams) shall be considered as a travelling Preacher any longer.

Q. 23. "Why is it that the people under our care are no better?"

A. "Other reasons may concur: but the chief is, because we are not more *knowing* and more *holy*.

Q. 24. "But why are we not more knowing?"

A. "Because we are idle. We forget our very first rule. 'Be diligent. Never be unemployed a moment. Never be triflingly employed. Never while away time; neither spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary.'

"I fear

" I fear there is altogether a fault, in this matter, and that few of us are clear. Which of you spends as many hours a day in *God's work*, as you did formerly in *man's work*? We talk, talk,—or read history, or what comes next to hand. We must, absolutely must, cure this evil, or betray the cause of God.

" But how? 1. Read the *most useful* books, and that regularly and constantly. Steadily spend all the morning in this employ, or at least five hours in four and twenty.

" But I read *only* the *Bible*.' Then you ought so teach others to read only the Bible, and by parity of reason, to *hear only* the Bible; but if so, you need preach no more. Just so said *George Bell*. And what is the fruit? Why now, he neither reads the Bible, nor any thing else.

" 'This is rank enthusiasm. If you need no book but the Bible, you are got above *St. Paul*.' He wanted others too. *Bring the books*, says he, *but especially the parchments*, those wrote on parchment.

" But I have *no taste* for reading.' Contract a taste for it by use, or return to your trade.

" But I have *no books*.' I will give each of you as fast as you will read them, books to the value of five pounds. And I desire the assistants would take care, that all the large societies provide our works, or at least the notes, for the use of the Preachers.

" 2. In the afternoon, follow *Mr. Baxter's* plan. Then you will have no time to spare: you will have work enough for all your time. Then likewise no Preacher will stay with us who is as salt that has lost its savour. For to such, this employment would be mere drudgery. And in order to it, you will have need of all the knowledge you have, or can procure.

" The sum is, Go into *every house* in course, and teach *every one* therein, young and old, if they belong to us, to be Christians, inwardly and outwardly.

" Make every particular plain to their understandings; fix it in their memory; write it in their heart. In order



to this, there must be *line upon line, precept upon precept*. What patience, what love, what knowledge is requisite for this!

Q. 35. "In what particular method should we instruct them?"

A. "You may as you have time, read, explain, enforce, 1. The rules of the society: 2. Instructions for children: 3. The fourth volume of sermons, and 4. *Philip Henry's* method of family prayer. We must needs do this, were it only to avoid idleness. Do we not loiter away many hours in every week? Each try himself: no idleness can consist with growth in grace. Nay without exactness in *redeeming time*, you cannot retain the grace you received in justification.

"But what shall we do for the *rising generation*? Unless we take care of this, the present revival will be *res unius ætatis*: it will last only the age of a man. Who will labour herèin? Let him that is zealous for God and the souls of men begin *now*.

"1. Where there are ten children in a society, meet them at least an hour every week: 2. Talk with them every time you see any at home: 3. Pray in earnest for them: 4. Diligently instruct and vehemently exhort all parents at their own houses: 5. Preach expressly on education, particularly at Midsummer, when you speak of *Kingswood*. 'But I have no gift for this.' Gift or no gift you are to do it: else you are not called to be a *Methodist* Preacher. Do it as you can, till you can do it as you would. Pray earnestly for the gift, and use the means for it. Particularly, study the instructions and lessons for children.

Q. 26. "Why are we not more holy? Why do not we live in eternity? Walk with God all the day long? Why are we not all *devoted to God*? Breathing the whole spirit of *missionaries*?"

A. "Chiefly because we are enthusiasts; looking for the end, without using the means.

"To touch only upon two or three instances.

"Who

“ Who of you rises at four in summer ? Or even at five, when he does not preach ? •

“ Do you recommend to all our societies, the five o'clock hour for private prayer ? Do you observe it ? Or any other fixt time ? Do not you find by experience, that *any time is no time* ?

“ Do you know the obligation and the benefit of fasting ? How often do you practise it ?

Q. 27. “ What is the best general method of Preaching ?

A. “ 1. To invite : 2. To convince : 3. To offer *Christ* : 4. To build up ; and to do this in *some* measure in every sermon.

Q. 28. “ Have not some of us been led off from practical preaching by (what was called) *preaching Christ* ?

A. “ Indeed we have. The most effectual way of preaching *Christ*, is to preach him in all his offices, and to declare his *law* as well as his *gospel*, both to believers and unbelievers. Let us strongly and closely insist upon inward and outward holiness, in all its branches.

Q. 29. “ How shall we guard against *formality* in public worship ? Particularly in *singing* ?

A. “ 1. By preaching frequently on the head : 2. By taking care to speak only what we feel : 3. By choosing such hymns as are proper for the congregation : 4. By not singing too much at once ; seldom more than five or six verses : 5. By suiting the tune to the words : 6. By often stopping short and asking the people, ‘ Now ! Do you know what you said last ? Did you speak no more than you felt ?’

“ After preaching take a little lemonade, mild ale, or candied orange-peel. All spirituous liquors, at that time especially, are deadly poison.

Q. 30. “ Who is the *assistant* ?

A. “ That Preacher in each circuit, who is appointed from time to time, to take charge of the societies and the other Preachers therein.

Q. 31. "How should an assistant be qualified for his charge?"

A. "By walking closely with God, and having his work greatly at heart: by understanding and loving discipline, ours in particular; and by loving the church of *England*, and resolving not to separate from it. Let this be well observed. I fear, when the *Methodists* leave the church, God will leave them. But if they are thrust out of it, they will be guiltless.

Q. 32. "What is the business of an assistant?"

A. "1. To see that the other Preachers in his circuit behave well, and want nothing: 2. To visit the classes quarterly, regulate the bands, and deliver tickets: 3. To take in, or put out of the society or the bands: 4. To keep watch-nights and love-feasts: 5. To hold quarterly-meetings, and therein diligently to inquire both into the temporal and spiritual state of each society: 6. To take care that every society be duly supplied with books: particularly with *Kempis*, and *Instructions for Children*, which ought to be in every house: O why is not this regarded? 7. To send from every quarterly-meeting a circumstantial account (to *London*) of every remarkable conversion, and remarkable death: 8. To take exact lists of his societies every quarter, and send them up to *London*: 9. To meet the married men and women, and the single men and women in the large societies once a quarter: 10. To overlook the accounts of all the stewards.

Q. 33. "Has the office of an assistant been well executed?"

A. "No, not by half the assistants. 1. Who has sent me word, whether the other Preachers behave well or ill? 2. Who has visited all the classes, and regulated the bands quarterly? 3. Love-feasts *for the bands* have been neglected: neither have persons been duly taken in, and put out of the bands: 4. The societies are not half supplied with books: not even with those above-mentioned. O exert yourselves in this! Be not weary! Leave no stone unturned! 5. How few

few accounts have I had, either of remarkable deaths, or remarkable conversions? 6. How few exact lists of the societies? 7. How few have met the married and single persons once a quarter?

Q. 34. "Are there any other advices, which you would give the assistants?"

A. "Several. 1. Take a regular catalogue of your societies, as they live, *in house-row*: 2. Leave your successor a particular account of the state of the circuit: 3. See that every band-leader has the rules of the bands: 4. Vigorously, but calmly enforce the rules concerning needless ornaments, drains, snuff, and tobacco. Give no band-ticket to any man or woman, who does not promise to leave them off: 5. As soon as there are four men or women believers in any place, put them into a band: 6. Suffer no love-feast to last above an hour and an half: and instantly stop all breaking the cake with another: 7. Warn all from time to time, that none are to remove from one society to another, without a certificate from the assistant in these words (else he will not be received in other societies,) 'A. B. the bearer, is a member of our society in C. I believe he has sufficient cause for removing.' I beg every assistant to remember this. 8. Every where recommend decency and cleanliness. Cleanliness is next to godliness. 9. Exhort all that were brought up in the church to continue therein. Set the example yourself: and immediately change every plan that would hinder their being at church, at least two Sundays in four. Carefully avoid whatever has a tendency to separate men from the church: and let all the servants in our preaching-houses go to church once on Sunday at least.

"Is there not a cause? Are we not unawares by little and little sliding into a separation from the church? O use every means to prevent this! 1. Exhort all our people to keep close to the church and sacrament: 2. Warn them all against niceness in hearing, a prevailing evil! 3. Warn them also against despising the prayers of the church: 4. Against calling our society *the church*: 5. Against calling

Preachers, *Ministers*, our houses *meeting-houses*; call them plain *preaching-houses* or chapels; 6. Do not license them as *Dissenters*: the proper paper to be sent in at the assizes, sessions, or bishop's court, is this: 'A. B. has set apart his house in C. for public worship, of which he desires a certificate.'—N. B. The justices do not licence the house, but the act of parliament. 7. Do not license yourself till you are constrained; and then not as a *Dissenter*, but a *Methodist*. It is time enough when you are prosecuted, to take the oaths. And by so doing you are licensed.

Q. 35. "But are we not *Dissenters*?"

A. "No. Although we call sinners to repentance in all places of God's dominion; and although we frequently use *extemporary prayer*, and unite together in a *religious society*: yet we are not *Dissenters* in the only sense which our law acknowledges, namely those who renounce the service of the church. We do not: we dare not separate from it. We are not *Seceders*, nor do we bear any resemblance to them. We set out upon quite opposite principles. The *Seceders* laid the very foundation of their work, in judging and condemning *others*. We laid the foundation of our work, in judging and condemning *ourselves*. They begin every where, with shewing their hearers, how fallen the church and ministers are. We begin every where, with shewing our hearers, how fallen they are *themselves*. What they do in *America*, or what their minutes say on this subject, is nothing to us. We will keep in the *good old way*.

"And never let us make light of going to church, either by word or deed. Remember Mr. *Hook*, a very eminent, and a zealous Papist. When I asked him, 'Sir, what do you do for public worship here, where you have no Romish service?' He answered, 'Sir, I am so fully convinced, it is the duty of every man to worship God in public, that I go to church every Sunday. If I cannot have such worship as I would, I will have such worship as I can.'

"But some may say, 'Our own service is public worship.' Yes; but not such as supersedes the church-service: it pre-supposes

supposes public prayer, like the sermons at the university. If it were designed to be instead of the church-service, it would be essentially defective. For, it seldom has the four grand parts of public prayer, deprecation, petition, intercession, and thanksgiving.

“ If the people put ours in the room of the church-service, we *hurt* them that stay with us, and *ruin* them that leave us. For then they will go no where, but lounge the Sabbath away, without any public worship at all.

Q. 36. “ Nay, but is it not our duty, to separate from the church, considering the wickedness both of the clergy and the people ?

A. “ We conceive not, 1. Because both the priests and the people were full as wicked in the Jewish church. And yet it was not the duty of the holy Israelites to separate from them : 2. Neither did our Lord command his disciples to separate from them : he rather commanded the contrary. 3. Hence it is clear, *that* could not be the meaning of St. Paul’s words, *Come out from among them, and be ye separate.*

Q. 37. “ But what reasons are there, why we should not separate from the church ?

A. “ Among others, those which were printed above twenty years ago, entitled ‘ Reasons against a Separation from the Church of *England* ?’

“ We allow two exceptions. 1. If the parish minister be a notoriously wicked man : 2. If he preach Socinianism, Arianism, or any other essentially false doctrine.

Q. 38. “ Do we sufficiently watch over our helpers ?

A. “ We might consider those that are with us as our pupils : into whose behaviour and studies we should inquire every day.

“ Should we not frequently ask each, Do you walk closely with God ? Have you *now* fellowship with the Father, and the Son ? At what hour do you rise ? Do you punctually observe the morning and evening hour of retirement ? Do you spend the day in the manner which we advise ? Do  
you

you converse seriously, usefully, and closely? - Do you use all the means of grace yourself, and enforce the use of them on all other persons? &c. &c.

Q. 39. "What can be done, in order to a closer union of our helpers with each other?"

A. "1. Let them be deeply convinced of the want there is of it at present, and the absolute necessity of it: 2. Let them pray for a desire of union: 3. Let them speak freely to each other: 4. When they meet, let them never part without prayer: 5. Let them beware how they despise each other's gifts: 6. Let them never speak slightly of each other in any kind: 7. Let them defend one another's characters in every thing, so far as consists with truth; and 8. Let them labour in honour each to prefer the other before himself.

Q. 40. "How shall we try those who think they are moved by the Holy Ghost to preach?"

A. "Inquire, 1. Do they know God as a pardoning God? Have they the love of God abiding in them? Do they desire and seek nothing but God? And, are they holy in all manner of conversation? 2. Have they *gifts*, (as well as *grace*) for the work? Have they (in some tolerable degree) a clear, sound understanding? Have they a right judgment in the things of God? Have they a just conception of salvation by faith? And has God given them any degree of utterance? Do they speak justly, readily, clearly? 3. Have they *fruit*? Are any truly convinced of sin, and converted to God by their preaching?"

"As long as these three marks concur in any one, we believe he is called of God to preach. These we receive as sufficient proof, that he is *moved thereto by the Holy Ghost*.

Q. 41. "What method may we use in receiving a new helper?"

A. "A proper time, for doing this, is at a Conference after solemn fasting and prayer.

"Every person proposed is then to be present; and each of them may be asked,

"Have

" Have you *faith in Christ* ? Are you going on to *perfection* ? Do you expect to *be perfected in love in this life* ? Are you groaning after it ! Are you resolved to devote yourself wholly to God and to his work ? Do you know the *Methodist plan* ? Have you read the *plain account* ? The *appeals* ? Do you know the *rules of the society* ? Of the *bands* ? Do you keep them ? Do you take no snuff ? tobacco ? drams ? Do you constantly attend the church and sacrament ? Have you read the *Minutes of the Conference* ? Are you willing to conform to them ? Have you considered the rules of an helper ? Especially the first, tenth, and twelfth ? Will you keep them for conscience-sake ? Are you determined to employ *all* your time in the work of God ? Will you preach every morning and evening : endeavouring not to speak too long, or too loud ? Will you diligently instruct the children in every place ? Will you visit from house to house ? Will you recommend fasting, both by precept and example ?

" Are you in debt ? Are you engaged to marry ?

" (N. B. A Preacher who marries while on trial, is thereby set aside.)

" We may then receive him as a probationer by giving him the Minutes of the Conference inscribed thus :

To A. B.

" You think it your duty to call sinners to repentance. Make full proof hereof, and we shall rejoice to receive you as a fellow-labourer.

" Let him then read, and carefully weigh what is contained therein, that if he has any doubt, it may be removed.

" Observe ! Taking on trial is entirely different from admitting a Preacher. One on trial may be either admitted or rejected, without doing him any wrong. Otherwise it would be no trial at all. Let every assistant explain this to them that are on trial.

" When he has been on trial four years, if recommended by the assistant, he may be received into full connexion, by giving him the minutes inscribed thus : ' As long as you freely consent to, and earnestly endeavour to walk by these  
rules,



rules, we shall rejoice to acknowledge you as a fellow-labourer.' Mean time let none exhort in any of our societies, without a note of permission from the assistant: let every exhorter take care to have this renewed yearly: and let every assistant insist upon it.

Q. 42. "What is the method wherein we usually proceed in our Conferences?

A. "We inquire,

"1. What Preachers are *admitted*?

"Who *remain on trial*?

"Who are *admitted on trial*?

"Who *desist* from travelling?

"2. Are there any objections to any of the Preachers? who are named one by one.

"3. How are the Preachers stationed this year?

"4. What numbers are in the society?

"5. What is the *Kingswood* collection?

"6. What boys are received this year?

"7. What girls are assisted?

"8. What is contributed for the contingent expences?

"9. How was this expended?

"10. What is contributed towards the fund for superannuated, and supernumerary Preachers?

"11. What demands are there upon it?

"12. How many Preachers' wives are to be provided for? By what societies?

"13. Where, and when, may our next Conference begin?

Q. 43. "How can we provide for superannuated and supernumerary Preachers?

A. "Those who can preach four or five times a week, are supernumerary Preachers. As for those who cannot,

"1. Let every travelling Preacher contribute half a guinea yearly at the Conference.

"2. Let every one when first admitted as a travelling Preacher pay a guinea.

"3. Let this be lodged in the hands of the stewards.

"4. Out of this let provision be made first for the worn-out

out Preachers, and then for the widows and children of those that are dead:

“ 5. Let an exact account of all receipts and disbursements be produced at the Conference.

“ 6. Let every assistant bring to the Conference, the contribution of every Preacher in his circuit.

Q. 44. “ Are not many of the Preachers’ wives still straitened for the necessaries of life?

A. “ Some certainly have been. To prevent this for the time to come.

“ 1. Let every circuit either provide each with a lodging, coals, and candles, or allow her fifteen pounds a year.

“ 2. Let the assistant take this money at the quarterly-meeting, before any thing else be paid out of it. Fail not to do this.

Q. 45. “ What can be done, in order to revive the work of God where it is decayed?

A. “ Let every Preacher read carefully over the life of *David Brainard*. Let us be *followers of him, as he was of Christ*, in absolute self-devotion, in total deadness to the world, and in fervent love to God and man. Let us but secure this point, and the world and the devil must fall under our feet.

“ 2. Let both Assistants and Preachers be conscientiously exact in the whole *Methodist* discipline.

“ 3. See that no circuit be at any time without Preachers. Therefore let no Preacher, who does not attend the Conference, leave the circuit, *at that time*, on any pretence whatever. This is the most improper time in the whole year. Let every assistant see to this, and require each of these to remain in the circuit, till the new Preachers come.

“ Let not all the Preachers, in any circuit come to the Conference.

“ Let those who do come, set out as late and return as soon as possible.

“ 4. Wherever you can, appoint prayer-meetings, and particularly on Friday.

“ 5. Let

" 5. Let a fast be observed in all our societies, the last Friday in August, November, February, and May.

" 6. Be more active in dispersing the books, particularly the sermon on, *The good Steward*, on *Indwelling Sin*, the *Repentance of Believers*, and the *Scripture-Way of Salvation*. Every assistant may give away small tracts. And he may beg money of the rich to buy books for the poor.

" 7. Strongly and explicitly exhort all believers, to go on to perfection. That we may all speak the same thing, I ask once for all, shall we defend this perfection, or give it up? You all agree to defend it, meaning thereby (as we did from the beginning) salvation from all sin, by the love of God and man filling our heart. The *Papists* say, 'This cannot be attained, till we have been refined by the fire of Purgatory.' The *Calvinists* say, 'Nay, it will be attained as soon as the soul and body part.' The *Old Methodists* say, 'It may be attained before we die: a moment after is too late.' Is it so, or not? You are all agreed, we may be saved from all sin before death. The substance then is settled. But, as to the circumstance, is the change gradual or instantaneous? It is both the one and the other. From the moment we are justified, there may be a gradual sanctification, a growing in grace, a daily advance in the knowledge and love of God. And if sin cease before death, there must, in the nature of the thing, be an instantaneous change. There must be a last moment wherein it does exist, and a first moment wherein it does not. 'But should we in preaching insist both on one, and the other?' Certainly we must insist on the gradual change; and that earnestly and continually. And are there not reasons why we should insist on the instantaneous also? If there be such a blessed change before death, should we not encourage all believers to expect it? And the rather, because constant experience shews, the more earnestly they expect this, the more swiftly and steadily does the gradual work of God go on in their soul: the more watchful they are against all sin; the more careful to grow in grace, the more zealous of good works, and the more punctual in their attendance

tendance on all the ordinances of God. \* (Whereas just the contrary effects are observed, whenever this expectation ceases.) They are *saved by hope*, by this hope of a total change, with a gradually increasing salvation. Destroy this hope and that salvation stands still, or rather decreases daily. Therefore whoever would advance the gradual change in believers, should strongly insist on the instantaneous.

Q. 46. "What can be done, to increase the work of God in *Scotland* ?

A. "1. Preach abroad as much as possible. 2. Try every town and village. 3. Visit every member in the society at home.

Q. 47. "Are our preaching-houses safe ?

A. "Not at all : for some of them are not settled on trustees. Several of the trustees for others are dead.

Q. 48. "What then is to be done ?

A. "1. Let those who have debts on any of the houses give a bond, to settle them as soon as they are indemnified.

"2. Let the surviving trustees choose others without delay. by indorsing their deed thus :

'We the remaining trustees of the *Methodist* preaching-house in \_\_\_\_\_, do according to the power vested in us by this deed, choose \_\_\_\_\_ to be trustees of the said house, in the place of \_\_\_\_\_

Witness our hands \_\_\_\_\_.'

"N. B. The deed must have three new stamps, and must be inrolled in Chancery within six months.

Q. 49. "May any new preaching houses be built ?

A. "Not unless, 1. They are proposed at the Conference : no nor 2. Unless two-thirds of the expence be subscribed. And if any collection be made for them, it must be made between the Conference and the beginning of February.

Q. 50. "How may we raise a general fund for carrying on the whole work of God ?

A. "By a yearly subscription to be proposed by every assistant when he visits the classes at *Christmas*, and received at the visitation following.

Q. 51. " We said in 1744, ' We have leaned too much toward Calvinism.' Wherein?

A. " 1. With regard to *man's faithfulness*. Our Lord himself taught us to use the expression, therefore we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert upon His authority, that if a man is not *faithful in the unrighteous mammon*, *God will not give him the true riches*.

" 2. With regard to *working for life*, which our Lord expressly commands us to do. *Labour (εργαζομεθα) literally, work for the meat that endureth to everlasting life*. And in fact, every believer, till he comes to glory, works *for*, as well as *from* life.

" 3. We have received it as a maxim, That ' a man is to do nothing, *in order to justification*.' Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God should *cease from evil and learn to do well*. So God himself teaches by the prophet *Isaiah*. Whoever repents should *do works meet for repentance*. And if ~~this is~~ not *in order* to find favour, what does he do them for?

" Once more review the whole affair:

" 1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God?

" He that now believes in *Christ*, with a loving obedient heart.

" 2. But who among those that never heard of *Christ*?

" He that according to the light he has, *seareth God and worketh righteousness*.

" 3. Is this the same with he that is *sincere*?

" Nearly, if not quite.

" 4. Is not this *salvation by works*?

" Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition*.

" 5. What have we, then been disputing about for these thirty years?

" I am afraid, *about words*: (namely, in some of the foregoing instances.)

" 6. As to *merit* itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: we are rewarded *according-to our works*, yea, *because of our works*. How does this differ from, *for the sake of our works*?

And

And how differs this from *Secundum merita operum*? Which is no more than, *as our works deserve*? Can you split this hair? I doubt, I cannot.

“ 7. The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions, is drawn from matter of fact. God does in fact justify those who by their own confession neither *feared God*, nor *wrought righteousness*. Is this an exception to the general rule?

“ It is a doubt, whether God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure that the person in question never did fear God and work righteousness? His own thinking so is no proof. For we know, how all that are convinced of sin, undervalue themselves in every respect.

“ 8. Does not talking, without the proper caution, of a *justified* or *sanctified state*, tend to mislead men? Almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in *one moment*? Whereas we are every moment *pleasing* or *displeasing* to God, *according to our works*? According to the whole of our present inward tempers and outward behaviour.”



## CHAPTER IV.

*Stating the principal Circumstances of Mr. Wesley's Life and Labours, till after the Conference in 1784: with a Continuation of the History of Methodism to that Period.*

SOME of the Preachers being now in *America*, and several societies having been formed, they earnestly solicited Mr. *Wesley*, once more to cross the *Atlantic*

*Atlantic* and give them a visit. In the beginning of this year, he wrote to Mr. *Whitefield* on this subject, as follows : “ Mr. *Keen* informed me some time since, of your safe arrival in *Carolina* : of which indeed I could not doubt for a moment, notwithstanding the idle report of your being cast away, which was so current in *London*. I trust our Lord has more work for you to do in *Europe*, as well as in *America*. And who knows, but before your return to *England*, I may pay another visit to the *New World*? I have been strongly solicited by several of our friends in *New-York* and *Philadelphia*. They urge many reasons ; some of which seem to be of considerable weight. And my age is no objection at all : for, I bless God, my health is not barely good but abundantly better, in several respects, than when I was five and twenty. But there are so many reasons on the other side, that as yet, I can determine nothing ; so I must wait till I have further light. Here I am ; let the Lord do with me as seemeth him good. For the present, I must beg of you to supply my lack of service : by encouraging the Preachers as you judge best, who are as yet comparatively young and unexperienced : by giving them such advices as you think proper : and above all, by exhorting them, not only to love one another, but if it be possible, as much as lieth in them, live peaceably with all men.”—It is evident from what is here said, that he had a strong inclination once more to visit *America*. This inclination operated on his mind for many years. And when the people were sometimes tardy in complying with his directions and desires, he would often mention it, as a means of keeping them in order.

Mr. *Wesley*, and those associated with him, were called *Arminians*, because they maintained that *Jesus Christ*

*Christ* died for the salvation of all men: Mr. *Whitefield*, and these in connexion with him, and most of the clergy in the church of *England*, at that time, who preached justification by faith alone, were denominated *Calvinists*, because they maintained that *Christ* died only for a determinate number, who *must* finally be saved. Such party distinctions are always mischievous in their consequences; they awaken suspicions which destroy the *charity* that *hopeth all things*, and they weaken brotherly-love and christian-fellowship. Each party draws consequences from the opinions of the other, which the other denies, and in reality does not hold. Hence jealousy is constantly kept awake in each party, disposing the mind to take advantage of every circumstance that may occur, to injure each other. This was precisely the case in the present year, between the *Arminians* and the *Calvinists*. The propositions at the conclusion of the *Minutes*,\* gave great offence. The *Calvinists* took the alarm, and the late honourable and Reverend *W. Shirley*, wrote a circular letter to all the serious clergy and others through the land. In June 1771, Mr. *Fletcher* sent a copy of this letter to Mr. *Wesley*, and at the same time wrote as follows: “When I left *Wales*, where I had stood in the gap for peace, I thought my poor endeavours were not altogether in vain. L—  
H— said, she would write civilly to you, and desire you to explain yourself about your *Minutes*. I suppose you have not heard from her; for she wrote me word since, that she believed she must not meddle in the affair. —Upon receiving yours from *Chester*, I cut off that part of it, where you expressed your belief of, what is eminently called by us, the *doctrine of free grace*, and sent it to the college, desiring it might be sent to  
Lady

\* After these words, “We said in 1744,” &c &c. to the end.



*Lady Huntingdon*. She hath returned it, with a letter wherein she expresses the greatest disapprobation of it: the purport of it is to charge you with tergiversation, and me with being the dupe of your impositions. She hath wrote in stronger terms to her *college*.

“ Things, I hoped, would have remained here; but how am I surprised, and grieved to see, zeal borrowing the horn of *discord* and sounding an alarm through the religious world against you! Mr. *H*—called upon me last night, and shewed me a printed circular letter, which I suppose is, or will be, sent to the serious clergy and laity through the land. I have received none, as I have lost, I suppose, my reputation of being a *real Protestant*, by what I wrote on your *Minutes*, in *Wales*.

“ The following is an exact copy of the printed letter.

“ SIR,

“ Whereas Mr. *Wesley's* Conference is to be held at *Bristol*, on Tuesday, the 6th of August next, it is proposed by *Lady Huntingdon*, and many other *Christian friends* (*real Protestants*) to have a meeting at *Bristol*, at the same time, of such principal persons, both *clergy* and *laity*, who disapprove of the under-written *Minutes*; and as the same are thought injurious to the very *fundamental principles* of *Christianity*, it is further proposed, that they go in a body to the said *Conference*, and insist upon a formal *recantation* of the said *Minutes*; and in case of a refusal, that they sign and publish their *protest* against them. Your presence, Sir, on this occasion is particularly requested: but if it should not suit your convenience to be there, it is desired that you will transmit your sentiments on the subject, to such person as you think proper to produce them. It is submitted to you, whether it would not be right, in the opposition to be made to such a dreadful *heresy*, to recommend it to as many  
of

of your *Christian friends*, as well of the *Dissenters*, as of the *established church*, as you can prevail on to be there; the cause being of so public a nature.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WALTER SHIRLEY."

Then followed a postscript, containing the objectionable propositions, &c. &c. after stating this, Mr. *Fletcher* proceeds, "I think it my duty, dear Sir, to give you the earliest intelligence of this bold onset; and assure you, that upon the *evangelical* principles, mentioned in your last letter to me, I, for one, shall be glad to stand by you, and your doctrine to the last: hoping that you will gladly remove stumbling blocks out of the way of the weak, and alter such expressions as may create prejudice in the hearts of those who are inclined to admit it.—If you come this way, Sir, I will shew you the minutes of what I wrote in *Wales*, in defence of what is called your *dreadful heresy*: for as to the writing itself, I have it not, Lady H— would never return it to me. Dear Sir, we can never make too much of *Jesus Christ*: some may preach and exalt him out of contention, but let us do it willingly and *scripturally*, and the Lord will stand by us. I beg, I entreat him, to stand by you; particularly at this time to give you the simplicity of the dove, and the wisdom of the serpent; the condescension of a child, and the firmness of a father.

"I write to Mr. *Shirley*, to expostulate with him to call in his circular letter. He is the last man who should attack you. His sermons contain propositions much more *heretical* and *anti-calvinistic*, than your *Minutes*. If my letter have not the desired effect, I shall probably, if you approve of them and will cor-

rect them, publish them for your justification. I find Mr. *Ir—d*, is to write, to make you *tamely recant*, without measuring swords, or breaking a pike with our *real Protestants*. I write to him also."

Tuesday, August 6, the *Conference* began at *Bristol*. On Thursday morning Mr. *Shirley* and his friends were admitted; when a conversation took place for about two hours, on the subject which occasioned their visit. Though the party had shewn much violence in writing, yet the interview with the Conference was managed with great temper and moderation; but with little or no effect. Mr. *Fletcher's* letters were immediately printed, and on the 14th, Mr. *Wesley* wrote the following letter to Lady *Huntingdon*.

¶ MY DEAR LADY,

"When I received the former letter from your Ladyship, I did not know how to answer: and I judged, not only that silence would be the best answer, but also, That, with which your Ladyship would be best pleased. When I received your Ladyship's of the second instant, I immediately saw that it required an answer: only I waited till the hurry of the Conference was over, that I might do nothing rashly. I know your Ladyship would not "Servilely deny the truth." I think neither would I: especially that great truth JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH; which Mr. *Law* indeed flatly denies (and yet Mr. *Law* was a child of God) but, for which I have given up all my worldly hopes, my friends, my reputation; yea for which I have so often hazarded my life, and by the grace of God will do again. The principles established in the *Minutes*, I apprehend to be no way contrary to this; or to that faith, that consistent plan of doctrine, which was once delivered to the saints. I believe whoever calmly considers Mr. *Fletcher's* letters, will be convinced of this. I fear therefore, "Zeal against those principles," is no less than  
zeal

zeal against the truth, and against the *honour* of our Lord. The preservation of *his* honour appears so sacred to *me*, and has done for above these forty years, that I have counted, and do count, all things loss in comparison of it. But till Mr. *Fletcher's* printed letters are answered, I must think every thing spoken against those *Minutes*, is totally destructive of *his* honour, and a palpable affront to him; both as our Prophet and Priest, but more especially as the King of his people. Those letters, which therefore could not be suppressed without betraying the honour of our Lord, largely prove, that the *Minutes* lay no other foundation, than that which is laid in scripture, and which I have been laying, and teaching others to lay, for between thirty and forty years. Indeed it would be amazing that God should at this day prosper my labours, as much if not more than ever, by convincing as well as converting sinners, if I was, "Establishing another foundation, repugnant to the whole plan of man's salvation under the covenant of grace, as well as the clear meaning of our *established* church, and all other *Protestant* churches." This is a charge indeed! But I plead not guilty: and till it is proved upon me, I must subscribe myself,

My dear Lady,

Your Ladyship's

Affectionate but much injured servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

The controversy was now continued for some time, but committed, almost wholly, to Mr. *Fletcher*; who managed it with astonishing temper and success. Indeed, the temper of this holy man, did not lead him to polemic divinity. He was devout and pious, to a degree seldom equalled since the days of the Apostles. But being urged into this controversy by the love of truth and reverence for Mr. *Wesley*, he displayed great knowledge of his subject, and a most happy manner

of treating it. • His letters were published under the title of, “*Checks to Antinomianism.*” They exhibit a fine model for controversy on religious subjects, and will ever bear ample testimony to the goodness of Mr. *Fletcher's* head and heart.

In February 1772, Mr. *Wesley* says, “I casually took a volume of what is called, ‘*A sentimental journey through France and Italy.*’ *Sentimental!* What is that? It is not *English*. He might as well say, *Continental*. It is not sense: it conveys no determinate idea. Yet one fool makes many; and this nonsensical word (who would believe it?) is become a fashionable one! However, the book agrees full well with the title: for the one is as queer as the other. For oddity, uncouthness, and unlikeness to all the world beside, I suppose the writer is without a rival!”

The Preachers met with no riotous mobs to oppose their progress in *Scotland*. Here, all ranks and orders of the people, from the highest to the lowest, had long been remarkable for a decent regard to religion and the ministerial character: and this religious *decorum*, had not yet been destroyed by that degree of profaneness which stimulates the mind to treat the ministers of the gospel with contempt and outrage. But the Preachers soon found, that they had prejudices to contend with more difficult to be overcome than the violence of a mob. They found the *Scots* strongly intrenched within the lines of religious opinions and modes of worship, which almost bade defiance to any mode of attack. Their success was therefore trifling, compared with what they had experienced in *England* and *Ireland*, where their lives had often been in danger from the mob. Mr. *Wesley*, however, in his stated journies through *Scotland*, every  
where

where met with the most flattering marks of respect ; both from the nobility (who often invited him to take their houses in his way) from many of the established ministers, and from the magistrates of the cities. In April this year, being on his *beinnial* visit to *Scotland*, he came to *Perth*, where the magistrates as a token of their respectful regard for him, presented him with the freedom of the city. The *diploma* ran thus :

“ PERTHI vigesimo octavo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo secundo.

“ Quo die, Magistratum Illustris ordo, et Honorandus Senatorum cætus inclytæ civitatis *Perthensis*, in debiti amoris et effectus *Tesseram* erga *Johannem Wesley* Artium Magistrum. nuper Collegiæ *Lincolniensis Oxoniæ* Socium, Immunitatibus præfatæ Civitatis, Societatis etiam ac Fraternitatis *Ædilitiæ* privilegiis—de omnibus a cive necessario exigendis ac præstandis Donarunt,” &c.

This *diploma* was struck off from a copper-plate upon parchment ; the arms of the city and some of the words were illuminated, and flowers painted round the borders, which gave it a splendid appearance. And for purity of the Latin, it is not perhaps exceeded by any *diploma*, either from *London* or any other city in *Europe*.

Mr. *Wesley* now saw the religious societies he had been the happy instrument of forming, spread rapidly on every side ; and the Preachers increasing in an almost equal proportion. He became, therefore, every day more solicitous to provide for their unity and permanency after his decease, wishing to preserve at the same time, the original doctrines and *economy* of the *Methodists*. He knew the views, and opinions of the Preachers better than any other individual possibly

bly could, having persons in all places who constantly informed him of every thing of importance that was said or done. From the beginning he had stood at the head of the Connexion, and by the general suffrage had acted as *Dictator*, in matters relating to the government of the societies. He had often found that all his authority was barely sufficient to preserve peace and unanimity, and seemed to conclude that if his authority were to cease, or not to be transferred to another at his death, the Preachers and people would fall into confusion. In January 1773, being at *Shoreham*, where no doubt he had consulted Mr. *Perronet* on the subject, he wrote the following letter to Mr. *Fletcher*.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ What an amazing work has God wrought in these kingdoms, in less than forty years! And it not only continues, but increases throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: nay, it has lately spread into *New-York*, *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Carolina*. But the wise men of the world say, ‘When Mr. *Wesley* drops, then all this is at an end!’ And so it surely will, unless before God calls him hence, one is found to stand in his place. For *Ὁὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη* *Εἰς ποῦτος ἔγω*.\* I see more and more, unless there be one *Προϊστάς*,† the work can never be carried on. The body of the Preachers are not united: nor will any part of them submit to the rest; so that either there must be One to preside over all, or the work will indeed come to an end.

“ But who is sufficient for these things? Qualified to preside both over the Preachers and people? He must be a man of faith and love, and one that has a single eye to the advancement of the kingdom of God. He must have a clear understanding;

\* “ It is not good, that the supreme power should be lodged in many hands: let there be one chief governor.”

† “ Who presides over the rest.”

understanding ; a knowledge of men and things, particularly of the *Methodist* doctrine and discipline ; a ready utterance ; diligence and activity, with a tolerable share of health. There must be added to these, favour with the people, with the *Methodists* in general. For unless God turn their eyes and hearts toward him, he will be quite incapable of the work. He must likewise have some degree of learning : because there are many adversaries learned as well as unlearned, whose mouths must be stopped. But this cannot be done, unless he be able to meet them on their own ground.

“ But has God provided one so qualified ? Who is he ? Thou art the man ! God has given you a measure of loving faith ; and a single eye to his glory. He has given you some knowledge of men and things ; particularly of the whole plan of *Methodism*. You are blessed with some health, activity, and diligence ; together with a degree of learning. And to all these, he has lately added, by a way none could have foreseen, favour both with the Preachers and the whole people—Come out in the name of God ! Come to the help of the Lord against the mighty ! Come while I am alive and capable of labour—

“ Dum superest *Lachesi* quod torqueat, et pedibus me

“ Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.”\*

Come while I am able, God assisting to build you up in faith, to ripen your gifts, and to introduce you to the people. *Nil tanti*. What possible employment can you have, which is of so great importance ?

“ But you will naturally say, ‘ I am not equal to the task : I have neither grace nor gifts for such an employment.’ You say true ; it is certain you have not : and who has ? But do you not know HIM who is able to give them ? Perhaps not at once, but rather day by day : as each is so shall your strength be—’ But this implies, you may say, a thousand crosses, such as I feel I am not able to bear ? You are not able to bear them

\* While *Læstis* has some thread of life to spin, and I walk on my own feet without the help of a staff. *Juvén. Sat. 3d.*



them *now*; and they are not *now* come. Whenever they do come, will he not send them in due number, weight, and measure? And will they not all be for your profit, that you may be a partaker of his holiness.

“ Without conferring therefore, with flesh and blood, come and strengthen the hands, comfort the heart, and share the labour of, your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY.”

This warm and sincere invitation, to a situation not only respected but even revered by so large a body of people, must have been highly pleasing to Mr. *Fletcher*: especially as it came from a person he most sincerely loved; whose superior abilities, learning, and labours, he admired; and to whose success in the ministry he wished to give every assistance in his power. But he well knew the occasional embarrassments Mr. *Wesley* met with in the government of some Preachers, though he alone, under the providence of God, had given existence to their present character, influence, and usefulness: and that a determination prevailed among them, not to be under the control of any one man after the death of Mr. *Wesley*. Under these circumstances, he probably saw nothing before him but storms, and tempests, especially if he should live to be alone in the office. He therefore determined, not to launch his little bark on so tempestuous an ocean.

Mr. *Fletcher* may have acted according to the rules of prudence, with respect to himself. But as he died before Mr. *Wesley*, the difficulties and dangers which he foresaw, were much greater in appearance, than they would have been in reality, had he accepted the invitation.\*

Mr.

\* Mr. *Fletcher* died in 1785, greatly lamented by thousands who had been benefited by his animating and instructive ministry, and by his  
pious

Mr. *Wesley* was now advancing in the seventy-first year of his age, and found his health and strength almost undiminished: he therefore continued his labours and travels, with the same assiduity and punctuality as at the beginning. In June 1774, when he entered on his seventy-second year, he speaks thus of himself, " This being my birth-day, the first day of my seventy-second year, I was considering, how is this, that I find just the same strength as I did thirty years ago? That my sight is considerably better now, and my nerves firmer, than they were then? That I have none of the infirmities of old age, and have lost several I had in my youth? The grand *cause* is, the good pleasure of God, who doth whatsoever pleaseth him. The chief *means* are, 1. My constantly rising at four, for about fifty years: 2. My generally preaching at five in the morning, one of the most healthy exercises in the world: 3. My never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in a year."

About this time died Mr. *John Downs*; who had been many years a Preacher among the *Methodists*. He was a man of sincere unaffected piety; of great affliction, and of uncommon genius. Mr. *Charles Wesley* gives the following account of his death. "*John Downs* has lived and died the death of the righteous. For several months past, he has been greatly alive to God, walked closely with him, and visibly grown in grace. Ever since the time that he resolved to preach again, he has preached as often as he really could, and with great success. On Friday morning he rose full of faith, and love, and joy. He declared it was the happiest day of his life, and that he had not been

so

pious conversation. The Reverend Mr. *Gilpin* has given us, the finest and most interesting *traits* of this excellent man's character.

so well in body for years. He expressed his joy in showers of tears—He was led to pray for the people, so as never before. Going out to the chapel at *West-street*, he said, ‘I used to go to preach trembling, and with reluctance, but now I go in triumph.’ His text was, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, &c.* His words were unusually weighty and with power, but few. He perceived, that he could not finish his discourse, and gave out this verse of the hymn, ‘Father I lift my heart to Thee, No other help I know’—His voice failing he fell on his knees, as meaning to pray; but he could not be heard. The Preacher ran and lifted him from his knees, for he could not raise himself. They carried him to bed, where he lay quiet and speechless till eight on Saturday morning, and then fell asleep. O for an end like his! It is the most enviable, the most desirable I ever heard of. His widow I visited yesterday afternoon. She surprised me, and all who saw her: so supported, so calm, so resigned. A faithful friend received her into her house. She had one sixpence in the world, and no more. But her Maker is her husband—We all agreed, it is the Lord’s doing, and is marvellous in our sight.”\*

In 1775, Mr. *Wesley* visited Ireland in his usual course; and in June, being then in the North on his return from *Londonderry*, he had the most severe illness he had ever before experienced. It was however, in part brought on, and afterwards increased, by such acts of imprudence as we should not expect to meet with in the conduct of a cautious, sensible, thinking man. We shall give the circumstances in his own words—“Tuesday 13, (of June) I was not very well in the morning, but supposed it would soon go off.

In

\* Taken from the short-hand.

In the afternoon, the weather being extremely hot, I lay down on the grass in Mr. *Lark's* orchard at *Cock-hill*. This I had been<sup>d</sup> accustomed to do for forty years, and never remembered to have been hurt by it. Only I never before lay upon my face, in which posture I fell asleep. I waked a little, and but a little out of order, and preached with ease to a multitude of people. Afterwards I was a good deal worse: however, the next day I went on a few miles to the *Grange*. The table was placed there in such a manner, that all the time I was preaching, a strong and sharp wind blew full on the left side of my head. And it was not without a good deal of difficulty that I made an end of my sermon. I now found a deep obstruction in my breast: my pulse was exceeding weak and low. I shivered with cold, though the air was sultry hot, only now and then burning for a few minutes. I went early to bed, drank a draught of treacle and water, and applied treacle to the soles of my feet. I lay till seven on Thursday the 15th, and felt considerably better. But I found near the same obstruction in my breast: I had a low, weak pulse: I burned and shivered by turns, and if I ventured to cough it jarred my head exceedingly. In going on to *Derry Anvil*, I wondered what was the matter, that I could not attend to what I was reading; no, not for three minutes together, but my thoughts were perpetually shifting. Yet all the time I was preaching in the evening (though I stood in the open air, with the wind whistling round my head) my mind was as composed as ever. Friday 16, in going to *Lurgan*, I wondered again that I could not fix my attention to what I read: yet while I was preaching in the evening on the parade, I found my mind perfectly composed; although it rained a great part of the time, which did not well agree

agree with my head. Saturday 17, I was persuaded to send for Dr. *Laws*, a sensible and skilful Physician. He told me, 'I was in a high fever, and advised me to lie by.' I told him, that could not be done; as I had appointed to preach in several places, and must preach as long as I could speak. He then prescribed a cooling draught, with a grain or two of *Camphor*, as my nerves were universally agitated. This I took with me to *Tandragee*: but when I came there, I was not able to preach: my understanding being quite confused, and my strength entirely gone. Yet I breathed freely, and had not the least thirst, nor any pain from head to foot.

"I was now at a full stand: whether to aim at *Lisburn*, or to push forward for *Dublin*? But my friends doubting whether I could bear so long a journey, I went straight to *Derry-Aghy*, a gentleman's seat on the side of a hill, three miles beyond *Lisburn*. Here nature sunk, and I took to my bed: but I could no more turn myself therein, than a new-born child. My memory failed as well as my strength, and well nigh my understanding. Only those words ran in my mind, when I saw Miss *Gayer* on one side of the bed, looking at her mother on the other,

'She sat, like patience on a monument

'Smiling at grief.'

"I can give no account of what followed for two or three days, being more dead than alive. Only I remember it was difficult for me to speak, my throat being exceeding dry. But *Joseph Bradford* tells me, I said on Wednesday, 'It will be determined before this time to-morrow—That my tongue was much swoln, and as black as a coal; that I was convulsed all over, and for some time my heart did not beat perceptibly, neither was any pulse discernible.'

"In

“ In the night of Thursday, the 22d, *Joseph Bradford* came to me with a cup, and said, ‘ Sir, you must take this.’ I thought I will, if I can, to please him; for it will do me neither harm nor good. Immediately it set me a vomiting; my heart began to beat, and my pulse to play again. And from that hour, the extremity of the symptoms abated. The next day I sat up several hours, and walked four or five times across the room. On Saturday I sat up all day, and walked across the room many times, without any weariness. On Sunday I came down stairs, and sat several hours in the parlour. On Monday I walked before the house: on Tuesday I took an airing in the chaise: and on Wednesday, trusting in God, to the astonishment of my friends, I set out for *Dublin*.”

About this time, Mr. *Wesley* published his “ *Calm Address to the American Colonies*,” then at war with *England*, the Mother country. This tract made a great noise, and raised him many adversaries. Being frequently asked, why he published it? He answered, in *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, “ Not to get money. Had that been my motive, I should have swelled it into a shilling pamphlet, and have entered it at *Stationer’s-Hall*.—Not to get preferment for myself, or my brother’s children—Not to please any man living, high or low. I know mankind too well. I know they that love you for political service, love you less than their dinners; and they who hate you, hate you worse than the devil.—Least of all did I write, with a view to inflame any: just the contrary. I contributed my mite toward putting out the flame which rages all over the land,” &c.—Many of his friends, however, were of opinion that he would have acted a more wise and better

better part, had he never meddled with political disputes. Observation had convinced them, that ministers of the Gospel, by interfering with *politics*, have seldom done any good, and often much harm: having frequently hindered their own usefulness, and made a whip for their own backs.

In the beginning of the year 1776, Mr. *Fletcher* was recovering from a severe illness. Mr. *Wesley*, having a high opinion of the salutary effects of easy journies through the country, in such cases, invited Mr. *Fletcher* to come out, and accompany him through some of the societies in the spring. Part of Mr. *Fletcher's* answer is as follows; "I received last night the favour of your's, from *Bristol*. My grand desire is, to be just what the Lord would have me to be. I could, if you wanted a travelling assistant, accompany you, as my little strength would admit, in some of your excursions. But your recommending me to the societies as one who might succeed you, should the Lord take you hence before me, is a step to which I could by no means consent. It would make me take my horse and gallop away. Beside, such a step would at this juncture, be, I think, peculiarly improper.—We ought to give as little hold to the evil surmisings, and rash judgments of our opponents as may be.—What has made me glut our friends with my books, is not any love to such publications, but a desire to make an end of the controversy. It is probable that my design has miscarried; and that I have disgusted rather than convinced the people—I agree with you, Sir, that now is the time to pray both for ourselves and our King: for the Church of *England*, and that part of it which is called the *Methodists*. I cast my mite of supplication into the general treasure. The  
Lord

Lord guide, support, and strengthen you more and more unto the end !”

An order had been made by the House of Lords in May this year, “ That the Commissioners of His Majesty’s Excise do write circular letters to all such persons whom they have reason to suspect to have plate, as also to those who have not paid regularly the duty on the same,” &c. In consequence of this order, the Accountant-General for Household Plate, sent Mr. *Wesley*, in September, a copy of the order, with the following letter.

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ As the Commissioners cannot doubt but you have Plate for which you have hitherto neglected to make an entry, they have directed me to send you the above copy of the Lords’ order, and to inform you, they expect that you forthwith make due entry of all your Plate, such entry to bear date from the commencement of the Plate duty, or from such time as you have owned, used, had, or kept any quantity of Silver Plate, chargeable by the Act of Parliament, as in default hereof, the Board will be obliged to signify your refusal to their Lordships.—N. B. An immediate answer is desired.

“Mr. *Wesley* answered as follows :

“ SIR,

“ I have *two* Silver tea-spoons at *London* and *two* at *Bristol*. This is all the Plate which I have at present : and I shall not buy any more, while so many round me want bread.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN WESLEY.”

The *Methodists* had now got a footing in the *Isle of Man*. The last year, a *local* Preacher from *Liverpool*



*pool* had paid them a visit, and spent some time with them. He repeated his visit this year, and societies were already formed in seven different places, and they reckoned 157 members in the *Island*. It happened here, as in most places of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, that the first preaching of the *Methodists*, produced no commotions or riots among the common people. —The Preachers, however, did not long enjoy peace. Two or three ill-minded persons, of some influence in the island, formed a plan of opposition, which in such cases, is but too often successful. It is perhaps universally true, that they who are destitute of the necessary qualifications to do good, have still the power of doing much harm : so much easier is it, to do the one than the other. These persons, to give greater weight to their opposition, so far prejudiced the mind of the Bishop against these new comers, that he wrote a pastoral letter, directed to all the Rectors, Vicars, Chaplains, and Curates, within the Isle and Diocese of *Man*. In this letter he states the ground of his opposition thus : “ Whereas we have been informed, that several unordained, unauthorized, and unqualified persons from other countries, have for some time past, presumed to preach and teach publicly, and hold and maintain Conventicles ; and have caused several weak persons to combine themselves together in a new society, and have private meetings, assemblies, and congregations, contrary to the doctrines, government, rites, and ceremonies of the established church, and the *civil* and *ecclesiastical* laws of this Isle : We do therefore, for the prevention of *schism* and the re-establishment of that *uniformity* in religious worship which so long hath subsisted among us, hereby desire and require each and every of you, to be vigilant and use your  
utmost

utmost endeavours to dissuade your respective flocks from following, or being led and misguided by such incompetent teachers," &c. &c. After expatiating a little on this part of his charge, he tells his clergy that if they could not prevail with the people by persuasion, that they must get a knowledge of the names of such persons as attended at these *unlawful* meetings, as he calls them, and especially of such as enjoyed any office or privilege by episcopal licence, and present them to his Rev. Vicars-General, or to some of them. He then requires every one of his clergy, to repel any *Methodist* Preacher from the sacrament, if he should offer himself at the table to receive it. He further directs, that this pastoral letter should be read, *plena Ecclesia*, in full church, the next Sunday after the receipt thereof.

The storm now became violent, and *Methodism* was threatened with a total shipwreck on the island. The Preachers and people, however, weathered it out; and in the end of May 1777, Mr. *Wesley*, who always wished to stand foremost in danger and diligence, paid them a visit, and was received in a very friendly manner by a few persons of respectability and influence. At *Peale-Town*, Mr. *Corbet* said, he would gladly have asked him to preach in his church; but the bishop had forbid it; who had also forbidden all his clergy to admit any *Methodist* Preacher to the Lord's Supper. On this occasion Mr. *Wesley* observes, "Is any clergyman obliged, either in law or conscience to obey such a prohibition? By no means. The will even of the King does not bind any *English* subject, unless it be seconded by an express law. How much less the will of a Bishop? But did not you take an oath to obey him?" No: nor any clergyman in the three

kingdoms. This is a meer *vulgar error*. Shame that it should prevail almost universally.

About the time of the Conference this year, a travelling Preacher who had been well received by the people, and who had enjoyed a large share of Mr. *Wesley's* confidence for several years, withdrew from the Connexion, and went among the *Friends*. There had been a misunderstanding between them, for some time before he took this step; and soon afterwards he wrote to Mr. *Wesley* on the subject. Mr. *Charles*, it is supposed, was in the habit of corresponding with this Preacher, and happening to see the letter, requested his brother to let *him* answer it. The request was granted; and the answer is written with candour, contains some good observations on young converts, and points out one striking trait in Mr. *John Wesley's* character. The date is October, this year.\*

"I thank you (says he) for your affectionate letter.† It confirms and increases my love towards you. Your phrase and dress, makes no difference to us—Let us abide in the love of Jesus, and we must continue to love one another—Out of true impartial love to you both, I long for peace between you and my brother. But alas! you do not love each other so well as I do: mutual confidence is lost, and then what union can there be? I submit to the permissive will of Providence.

"If I know my own heart, I have nothing there but tender disinterested love for him and for you: and it is, and must be, a serious grief to me that you are not cordially affected to each other. But we might part friends, who can never part—I wished to see you; I should not have said one word against your religion; but I should have  
taken

\* This letter, taken from Mr. Charles Wesley's papers in short-hand, was put into Doctor Whitelock's hands since the first volume of the first edition of this work was published.

† One that Mr. Charles had received from him.

taken the liberty of giving you a friendly caution or two, lest Satan get an advantage over you, or us.

“ You know, when a man leaves one religious party or society, it is a theme both to him and them. Those of his old friends who loved him merely as a member of their society, will cease to love him on that account: those who have little or no grace, will partly treat him as a deserter, and express their anger or ill-will by speaking against him. This stabbing a man in the back, as soon as he turns it upon us, I abhor and protest against; and discourage to the utmost of my power—One, who forsakes his former friends, will be tempted to speak evil of them, and mention their faults, real or supposed, to justify himself for leaving them, or to recommend himself to his new friends—I always stood in doubt of such converts; whether from the *Calvinists*, *Moravians*, *Dissenters*, or any other—Beside, a young convert is always most zealous in making *proselytes*; which awakens suspicion in the deserted party, and arms them against depredations.

“ My brother shewed me your last: I desired him to let me answer it. Hope of a free conversation with you, hindered me from writing. You know, I have talked with you concerning him, without reserve: I could not have used such confidence towards another. Still I am as incapable of mistrusting you, as you are of trusting him. In many things I have more fellowship with you, than I have with him: my love for both is the same.

“ But, ‘ You expect he will keep his own secrets!’ Let me whisper it into your ear; He never could do it since he was born. It is a gift which God has not given him. But I shall speak to him, and put a stop to what you justly complain of, and let all be buried in oblivion—I wish you may never have an uneasy thought on our account. Speak not therefore of my brother; think no evil of him; forget him if you can entirely, till you meet above.

“ You are now entering on a new scene of things. You have no doubt of God’s calling you among the *Friends*. I

judge nothing before the time ; time will shew. I heartily pray God you may do, and receive much more good among them, than you did among us. "If God give you discernment and favour, and you are the approved instrument of reviving *his* work, and *their* first love, I shall rejoice and be thankful that you ever left us. But if, which God forbid, you should bury your talent, do no good, and only change *one form* for *another* ; alas ! alas ! my brother, you will prove yourself mistaken, and lose many jewels which might have been added to your crown.

" I should think worse of our society than *you* do, if they felt no sorrow at parting with you—Some whom I know, will seldom think of you without a sorrowful tear—The days of my mourning are just ended—My hope of you is steady, that if you hold out a little longer, I shall find you again among the blessed in that day."

This letter, and the account he has given of Mr. *John Downes*, are very clear proofs that Mr. *Charles Wesley* was not an enemy to all Lay-Preachers ; of which indeed, many other proofs might be given—The fact however, here stated, that Mr. *John Wesley* did not keep secrets may be true. Though his connexions and correspondence were uncommonly large, yet, no person, perhaps, in the world, had so few secrets as Mr. *J. Wesley*. He never travelled alone, and the person who attended him, had the charge of his letters and papers, which of course lay open to his inspection. The Preachers likewise, who were occasionally with him, had access to his letters and papers, especially "if he had confidence in their sincerity and zeal in religion, which it was not very difficult to obtain. It was easy for these persons to see the motive that influenced him, and the end he had in view in every action of his life, however remote from public observation : and he took no pains to conceal

conceal them, but seemed rather to court the discovery.

Hitherto the society in *London* had occupied the old *Foundery*, near *Upper-Moorfields*, as a place of worship; but were now making preparations to quit it. They had obtained the promise of a lease from the city, of a piece of ground in the *City-Road*, and every thing being prepared, the day was fixed for laying the foundation of a chapel. "The rain (says *Mr. Wesley*) befriended us much, by keeping away thousands who purposed to be there. But there were still such multitudes, that it was with great difficulty I got through them to lay the first stone. Upon this was a plate of brass, covered with another stone, on which was engraved, 'This was laid by *John Wesley*, on April 1, 1777.' Probably this will be seen no more, by any human eye; but will remain there, till the earth and the works thereof are burnt up."

By the end of October 1778, the chapel was built, and ready to be opened. "November 1, (says *Mr. Wesley*) was the day appointed for opening the New Chapel in the *City-Road*. It is perfectly neat, but not fine; and contains far more than the *Foundery*: I believe together with the morning chapel, as many as the *Tabernacle*. Many were afraid, that the multitudes crowding from all parts, would have occasioned much disturbance. But they were happily disappointed; there was none at all: all was quietness, decency, and order. I preached on part of *Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple*; and both in the morning and afternoon, God was eminently present in the midst of the congregation."

Upon the opening of the New Chapel, it seems *Mr. John* and *Charles Wesley* agreed, that one of them  
should

should fill the pulpit as often as possible, till the congregation became fixed and settled. This gave offence to some Lay-Preachers, who thought themselves slighted, and perhaps very justly. They therefore obtained a promise from Mr. *John Wesley*, that during his absence, one of their body should preach in it when his brother could not ; which subjected the other clergymen to their authority. Mr. *Charles*, who always wished the clergymen to enjoy a pre-eminence over the Lay-Preachers, was hurt at his brother's concession ; and on Good-Friday, 1779, wrote to him as follows. " I have served the chapel morning and evening, and met the society every other week since you left us. I think myself bound so to do, as long as I can ; both by my duty as a clergyman, and by our agreement when the chapel was first opened. We agreed to fill the pulpit there as often as we could, especially at the beginning, till the congregation was settled. Many of the subscribers you know, were not of our society, yet of the Church : out of good-will to them and to the Church, not out of ill-will to the Preachers, I wished the Church service continued there.

" I am sorry you yielded to the Preachers. They do not love the Church of *England*. What must be the consequence when we are gone ? A separation is inevitable. Do you not wish to keep as many good people in the Church as you can ? By what means ? What can be done now ? Something might be done to save the remainder, if you had resolution, and would stand by me as firmly as I will by you. Consider what you are bound to as a clergyman ; and what you do, do quickly—You did not expect complaints of me for preaching too often ! I cannot long stand in the way of any."\*

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Taken from the short-hand.

It is easy to perceive, that Mr. *Charles Wesley's* mind was constantly awake to every thing that he supposed tended, in any degree, to introduce innovations into the original plan of *Methodism*; to every measure which had any tendency to alter the *relative situation* of the societies to the established church, and to other bodies of religious professors in the nation, and to form them into a separate party. His whole soul revolted from this, and he used all his influence to prevent it.

In February this year, Mr. *John Wesley* observes, "Finding many serious persons were much discouraged by *prophets of evil*, confidently fore-telling very heavy calamities, which were coming upon our nation; I endeavoured to lift up their hands, by opening and applying those comfortable words, Psalm xliii. 5, 6. *Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? Why art thou so disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God; for I will yet give him thanks, who is the help of my countenance and my God.*"—The next day was the National Fast. And he observes, "So solemn a one I never saw before. From one end of the city to the other, there was scarce any one seen in the streets. All places of public worship were crowded in an uncommon degree; and an unusual awe sat on most faces. I preached on the words of God to *Abraham*, interceding for *Sodom*, *I will not destroy it* (the city) *for ten's sake.*"

When we find a man constantly travelling through all parts of the nation; holding intercourse with immense multitudes of people, by means of the pulpit and private correspondence; and exerting all his influence on every occasion of public distress or alarm, to soften and quiet the minds of the people, we must call him a national blessing. And such was the  
constant



constant practice of Mr. *Wesley* for more than half a century ! Let us hope and pray, that those who have succeeded him, may follow his example.

In the beginning of this year, a great clamour was raised against the Bill passed in favour of the *Roman-Catholics*. A *Protestant Association* was formed to obtain a repeal of it, and in the end much mischief was done: not without suspicion, however, that the outrages which followed, were greatly promoted and increased by Romanists, and by others in disguise. The one party wished to disgrace the Association, the other, the Ministry. But before these things happened, a pamphlet was written in defence of the object the Association had in view ; and an answer to it soon appeared. These pamphlets were put into Mr. *Wesley's* hands ; and having read them, he wrote a letter on the subject, dated January 21, which he sent to the printer of the *Public Advertiser*. In this letter, after premising that persecution had nothing to do with the matter, and that he wished no man to be persecuted for his religious principles ; he lays down this general proposition, “ That no *Roman-Catholic* does or can give security to a Protestant Government, for his allegiance and peaceable behaviour.” He rested the proof of his proposition on the following arguments, any one of which, if good, is proof sufficient, if the others should not apply.

1. “ It is a *Roman-Catholic* maxim, established not by private men, but by a public council, that *No faith is to be kept with heretics*. This has been openly avowed by the Council of *Constance* ; but it never was openly disclaimed. Whether private persons avow or disavow it, it is a fixed maxim of the church of *Rome*.

2. “ One branch of the *spiritual power* of the Pope, is, and has been for ages, the power of granting *pardon* for all

sins past, present, and to come ! But those who acknowledge him to have this spiritual power, can give no security for their allegiance, &c.

3. " The power of *dispensing* with any promise, oath, or vow, is another branch of the *spiritual power*, of the Pope. And all who acknowledge his *spiritual power*, must acknowledge this: but whoever acknowledges this *dispensing* power of the Pope, cannot give security for his allegiance to any Government—Nay, not only the Pope, but even a *Priest* has power to *pardon sins* ! This is an essential doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. But they who acknowledge this cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any Government.

" Setting then religion aside, it is plain, that upon principles of reason, no Government ought to tolerate men, who cannot give any security to that Government for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour. But this no *Romanist* can do, not only while he holds that ' No faith is to be kept with *heretics*,' but so long as he acknowledges either *priestly-absolution*, or the *spiritual power* of the Pope."

The letter, from which the above is only an abstract, raised several adversaries. But Mr. *O'Leary*, a *Capuchin* friar, in *Dublin*, having seen the letter in the *Freeman's Journal*, soon became the most conspicuous of Mr. *Wesley's* opponents. He published Remarks upon the letter, in the same *Journal* ; to which Mr. *Wesley* replied. Mr. *O'Leary* continued his Remarks in five succeeding *Journals* ; and Mr. *Wesley* published a second reply. The *Remarks* were afterwards reprinted together in *London*, with the following title, " Mr. *O'Leary's* Remarks on the Rev. Mr. *Wesley's* Letters in defence of the Protestant Associations in *England*, to which are prefixed Mr. *Wesley's* Letters."

We have here a most striking sample of Mr. *O'Leary's* disingenuity and artifice ; if *He* gave this title

title to the pamphlet. For, 1. Mr. *Wesley* had not written one line in defence of the *Protestant* Associations: and, 2. Mr. *Wesley's* two replies published in the *Freeman's Journal*, were suppressed, and a *spurious* letter palmed on the public, as genuine, which Mr. *Wesley* declared he had never seen, before he saw it in Mr. *O'Leary's* pamphlet.

Mr. *Wesley's* second reply to Mr. *O'Leary*, contains the strength of his cause; and with what has before been said, will give the reader a full view of the subject; We shall therefore insert the substance of it.

“ To the Editors of the *Freeman's Journal*,

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ Some time ago, in a letter published at *London*, I observed, ‘*Roman Catholics* cannot give those whom they account *heretics*, any sufficient security for their peaceable behaviour! 1. Because it has been publicly avowed in one of their General Councils, and never publicly disclaimed, That Faith is not to be kept with *heretics*. 2. Because they hold the doctrine of *priestly absolution*: and 3. The doctrine of Papal *Pardons and Dispensations*.

“ Mr. *O'Leary*, has published *Remarks* on this letter: nine parts in ten of which are quite wide of the mark. Not that they are wide of *his* mark, which is to introduce a plausible *panegyric* upon the *Roman Catholics*, mixt with keen invectives against the *Protestants*; whether true or false it matters not. All this is admirably well calculated to inspire the reader with aversion to these *heretics*, and to bring them back to the holy, harmless, much injured church of *Rome*! And I should not wonder, if these six papers should make six thousand converts to her.—Close arguing he does not attempt, but he vapours, and skips to and fro, and rambles to all points of the compass, in a very lively and entertaining manner.

“ My argument was, The Council of *Constance* has openly avowed violation of faith with *heretics*. But it has never been  
openly

openly disclaimed. Therefore those who receive this Council, cannot be trusted, by those whom they account *heretics*—This is my immediate conclusion. And if the premises be admitted, it will infallibly follow.

“ On this Mr. *O’Leary* says, ‘ A Council so often quoted challenges peculiar attention. We shall examine it with all possible precision and impartiality. At a time when the broachers of a new doctrine’—as new as the bible—‘ were kindling the fire of sedition, and shaking the foundation of thrones and kingdoms’—big words, but entirely void of truth—‘ was held the Council of *Constance*. To this was cited *John Huss*, famous for propagating errors tending to wrest the sceptre from the hand of kings.—Equally true—‘ He was obnoxious to the Church and State’—To the Church of *Rome*: not to the State in any degree—‘ *Huss* strikes at the root of all temporal power and civil authority. He boldly asserts, That all Princes, Magistrates, &c. in the state of mortal sin, are deprived, *ipso facto*, of all power and jurisdiction.’ And by broaching these doctrines, he makes *Bohemia* a theatre of intestine war. See the Acts of the Council of *Constance* in *L’Abbe’s* collection of Councils.’—I have seen them, and can find nothing of this therein. But more of this by and by.

‘ He gave notice that he would stand his trial. But he attempted to escape’—No, never, this is pure invention. ‘ He was arrested at *Constance*, and confined. His friends plead his *safe-conduct*. The Council then declared, *No safe-conduct granted by the Emperor, or any other Princes, to HERETICS, ought to hinder them from being punished as justice shall require. And the person who has promised them security, SHALL NOT BE OBLIGED TO KEEP HIS PROMISE, BY WHATEVER TIE HE MAY BE ENGAGED.*’

“ And did the Council of *Constance* declare this? Yes, says Mr. *O’Leary*. I desire no more. But before I argue upon the point, permit me to give a little fuller account of the whole affair.

“ The Council of *Constance* was called by the Emperor *Sigismund*, and Pope *John* the 23d, in the year 1414. Before  
it

it began, the Emperor sent some *Bohemian* gentlemen, to conduct *John Huss* to *Constance*, solemnly promising, That he should 'Come and return freely, without fraud or corruption.'

" But before he left *Prague*, he waited on the Bishop of *Nazareth*, Papal Inquisitor for that city and diocese, who, in the presence of many witnesses, gave him the following testimonial—' We, *Nicholas*—do by these presents, make known to all men, That we have often talked with that honourable man, Master *John Huss*, and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, have proved him to be a faithful man; finding no manner of evil, sinister, or erroneous doings in him, unto the present. *Prague*, August 30, 1414.

" This was attested by the hand and seal of the public notary named *Michael Pruthaticth*—After this, *Conrade*, Archbishop of *Prague*, declared before all the Barons of *Bohemia*, That ' He knew not that *John Huss* was culpable or faulty, in any crime or offence whatever'—So neither the Inquisitor, nor the Archbishop, knew any thing of ' his making *Bohemia* a theatre of intestine war.'

" In the seventeenth session, the sentence and condemnation of *John Huss*, was read and published. The Emperor then commanded the Duke of *Bavaria* to deliver him to the executioner; for which glorious exploit, he was thus addressed by the Bishop of *Landy*, in the name of the Council: This most holy, and goodly labour, was reserved only for Thee, O most noble Prince! Upon thee only doth it lie, to whom the whole rule and ministration of justice is given. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renown: even by the mouths of babes and sucklings thy praise shall be celebrated for evermore!

" From the whole of this transaction we may observe,  
1. That *John Huss* was guilty of no crime, either in word or action; even his enemies, the Archbishop of *Prague*, and the Papal Inquisitor being judges. 2. That his real fault, and his only one, was opposing the Papal usurpations. 3. That this most noble Prince, was a bigotted, cruel, perfidious murderer; and that the Fathers of the Council

cil deserve the same praise, seeing they urged him to embue his hands in innocent blood, in violation of the public faith, and extolled him to the skies for so doing: and seeing they have laid it down as a maxim that the most solemn promise made to a *heretic* may be broken.

“ But, says Mr. *O’Leary*, ‘ This regards the peculiar case of *safe-conducts* granted by Princes to *heretics*’—But what then? If the public faith with *heretics* may be violated in one instance, it may be in a thousand—‘ But can the rule be extended further?’—I may; it must; we cannot tell where to stop.—Away then with your witticisms on so awful a subject. What! do you sport with human blood? I take burning men alive to be a very serious thing. I pray spare your jests on the occasion.—Again, ‘ What more absurd than to insist on a General Council’s disclaiming a doctrine they never taught’—They did teach it: and that not by the bye, not incidentally; but they laid it down as a stated rule of action, dictated by the Holy Ghost—and demonstrated their sincerity therein by burning a man alive. And this Mr. *O’Leary* humourously compares to roasting a piece of beef! With equal tenderness, I suppose, he would compare the ‘ Singeing the beards of *heretics*!’ that is thrusting a burning furze-bush in their face, to the singeing a fowl before it is roasted.—Now, what security can any *Romanist* give a *Protestant* till this doctrine is publicly abjured? If Mr. *O’Leary* has any thing more to plead for this Council, I shall follow him step by step. But let him keep his word, and ‘ Give a serious answer to a serious charge.’ Drollery may come in, when we are talking of roasting fowls, but not when we talk of ‘ roasting men.’

“ Would I then wish the *Roman-Catholics* to be persecuted? I never said or hinted any such thing. I abhor the thought: it is foreign to all I have preached and written for these fifty years. But I would wish the *Romanists* in *England* (I had no others in view) to be treated still with the same lenity that they have been these sixty years: to be allowed both civil and religious liberty, but not permitted

to undermine Ours, I wish them to stand just as they did, before the late Act was passed: not to be persecuted, or hurt themselves; but gently\*restrained from hurting their neighbours.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

Chester, March 31, 1780.

Notwithstanding the high praises bestowed by some persons on Mr. *O'Leary*, at the time of this controversy, the impartial reader will easily observe, that Mr. ~~Wesley~~ *Wesley* had greatly the advantage in point of argument. Mr. *O'Leary*, to all intents and purposes, allows the charge Mr. *Wesley* brought against the Council of *Constance*; and yet afterwards affects to deny it.—Mr. *Berrington* wrote to Mr. *Wesley* in defence of the same Council; and in a private letter \* observes, "There never was a decision made at *Constance* tending to shew, that, *No faith is to be kept with heretics*. The words of the Canon are not susceptible of such a comment, unless tortured to it. At all events no Council, Pope, Bishop, Priest, or Layman of our church ever understood them in the sense of your interpretation.—But every Catholic Divine has at all times, in writing on the subject, utterly reprobated the idea of breaking faith with *heretics*, as contrary to every dictate of reason and religion."—These, undoubtedly, are very extraordinary assertions, but there is no proof. With regard to the Council of *Constance*, if the words of the Canon are indeed ambiguous, which some persons do not think, yet, the burning a man alive, in open violation of the public faith, was certainly a very plain comment upon them, which can hardly leave a doubt behind

—But

\* Which was never published.

—But what shall we say to the words that follow, “Every Catholic Divine has at all times utterly reprobated the idea of breaking faith with *heretics*.” We do not know that Mr. *Wesley* answered this letter, for there would be no end of answering groundless assertions. The modern rulers of the Church of *Rome* in Catholic countries, speak on this subject in a strain very different from that of Mr. *Berrington*. In 1768, an oath of allegiance was in contemplation for the *Roman-Catholics* of *Ireland*, which, for the better security of Government, contained a declaration of *abhorrence* and *detestation* of the doctrines, “That faith is not to be kept with *heretics*, and that Princes deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects.” The Pope’s legate at *Brussels*, *Ghilini*, Archbishop of *Rhodes*, had then the superintendence of the *Romish* Church in *Ireland*. He wrote on this subject, to the titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, and in his letter, treats the above clauses proposed in the oath, as absolutely *intolerable*. Because, says he, *those doctrines* are DEFENDED, and CONTENDED for, by most *Catholic* nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. On the whole he decides, “That, as the oath is in its whole extent unlawful, so in its nature it is invalid, null, and of no effect, so that it can by no means bind and oblige consciences.” This letter was published by *Thomas de Burgo* (*Burke*) titular Bishop of *Ossory*, and public historiographer to the *Dominican* order in *Ireland*, in his appendix to his *Hibernia Dominicana*, printed in 1772; together with three similar ones to the other three titular metropolitans, and stiled by the Bishop, *Literæ verè aureæ cedroque dignæ*.\*

That.

\* See *Erskine’s Sketches and Hints of Church History*, p. 131.



That similar decisions on the validity of oaths detrimental to the interests of the Holy See, were uniformly made by successive Popes, whenever the affairs of the Church required them, is well known. It was intended to have brought forward a few of them, but it is unnecessary. What has been said fully proves the charge Mr. *Wesley* brought—"It is a maxim of the Church of *Rome* that faith is not to be kept with *heretics*." It has been taught again and again, by the first authority in this Church, that the *Roman-Catholics* are not bound to any engagements made with *heretics*, though confirmed by the most solemn oath that can possibly be framed, when the good of the Church requires they should break it. This was not only an ancient doctrine of the Church in the times of great ignorance; but we have already seen that the *modern* rulers of it maintain the same doctrine and contend for it. And what wonder? when we consider, 1. That the old spirit of *Popery* is still kept up, by the practice of the Pope, to the present time: once every year, on *Maunday-Thursday*, he excommunicates all *heretics* in the most awful and terrific manner; and thus keeps up a constant spirit of hatred in the minds of *Catholics* against the *Protestants*. And, 2. That the *Romish* bishops take an oath at their consecration, totally inimical to every *Protestant* Government, and which binds them to use every method in their power to subvert it—The following is a part of the oath: "The *Roman* Papacy, and the Royalties of *St. Peter*, I will, saving my own order, assist them (the Pope and his successors) to retain and defend against every man. The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy *Roman* Church, and of our lord the Pope, and his successors aforesaid, I will be careful to preserve, defend, enlarge,

large, and promote. All *heretics, schismatics, and rebels* against our said lord, I will, to the utmost of my power, persecute (*persequar*) and oppose, and never lay down my weapons till they are utterly brought under and rooted out."—The word *persequar*, is ambiguous, but Dr. *William Hales*, formerly of Trinity-College, *Dublin*, in his Survey of the modern state of the Church of *Rome*, has proved that the clause, *hereticos pro posse persequar, et expugnabo*, is an obligation to persecute *heretics*, and oppose them with temporal weapons; and that this appears to be the sense of the Church of *Rome*, both from her decrees and practice, and even from late instances of persecuting zeal in the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Inquisition.\*

In the course of this year, some persons in *America*, attached to the doctrines, and to the ritual of the Church of *England*, wrote to Mr. *Wesley*, requesting that he would get a young man ordained for them, by one of the bishops in this country. They did not apply to the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts, because they did not want pecuniary assistance from that fund. Mr. *Wesley* wrote to Dr. *Lowth*, Bishop of *London*, begging the favour that he would ordain a pious young man for them. The bishop refused; and August 10, Mr. *Wesley* sent him the following letter.

" My Lord,

" Some time since I received your Lordship's favour, for which I return your Lordship my sincere thanks—Those persons did not apply to the society: because they had nothing to ask of them. They wanted no salary for their Minister: they were themselves able and willing to maintain him. They therefore applied, by me, to your Lordship, as

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\* Erskine's Sketches, pages 133, & 228.

members of the Church of *England*, and desirous so to continue, begging the favour of your Lordship, after your Lordship had examined him, to ordain a pious man who might officiate as their Minister.

“ But your Lordship observes, ‘ There are three Ministers in that country already?’ True my Lord: but what are three, to watch over all the souls in that extensive country? —Will your Lordship permit me to speak freely? I dare not do otherwise. I am on the verge of the grave, and know not the hour when I shall drop into it. Suppose there were threescore of those Missionaries in the country, could I in conscience recommend these souls to their care? Do they take any care of their own souls? If they do (I speak it with concern) I fear they are almost the only Missionaries in *America* that do. My Lord, I do not speak rashly: I have been in *America*; and so have several with whom I have lately conversed. And both I and they know, what manner of men the far greater part of these are. They are men who have neither the power of religion nor the form; men that lay no claim to piety, nor even decency.

“ Give me leave, my Lord, to speak more freely still: perhaps it is the last time I shall trouble your Lordship. I know your Lordship’s abilities and extensive learning: I believe, what is far more, that your Lordship fears God. I have heard that your Lordship is unfashionably diligent in examining the Candidates for Holy Orders: yea, that your Lordship is generally at the pains of examining them *yourself*. Examining them! in what respects? Why whether they understand a little *Latin* and *Greek*: and can answer a few trite questions in the science of Divinity! Alas, how little does this avail! Does your Lordship examine, whether they serve *Christ* or *Belial*? Whether they love God or the world? Whether they ever had any serious thoughts about Heaven or Hell? Whether they have any real desire to save their own souls, or the souls of others? If not, what have they to do with Holy Orders? and what will become of the souls committed to their care?

“ My

“ My Lord, I do by no means despise learning: I know the value of it too well. But what is this, particularly in a Christian Minister, compared to piety? What is it in a man that has no religion? ‘ As a jewel in a swine’s out.’

“ Some time since I recommended to your Lordship a plain man, whom I had known above twenty years; as a person of deep, genuine piety, and of unblamable conversation. But he neither understood *Greek* nor *Latin*: and he affirmed, in so many words, that, ‘ He believed it was his duty to preach, whether he was ordained or no.’ I believe so too. What became of him since, I know not. But I suppose he received ‘*Presbyterian*’ ordination: and I cannot blame him if he did. He might think any ordination better than none.

“ I do not know, that Mr. *Hoskins* had any favour to ask of the Society. He asked the favour of your Lordship to ordain him, that he might minister to a little flock in *America*. But your Lordship did not see good to ordain him: but your Lordship did see good to ordain and send into *America*, other persons, who knew something of *Greek* and *Latin*; but knew no more of saving souls, than of catching whales.

“ In this respect also, I mourn for poor *America*: for the sheep scattered up and down therein. Part of them have no Shepherds at all: particularly in the Northern colonies; and the case of the rest is little better, for their own Shepherds pity them not. They cannot, for they have no pity on themselves. They take no thought or care about their own souls.

“ Wishing your Lordship every blessing from the Great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls,

I remain, my’ Lord,

Your Lordship’s dutiful Son and Servant,

JOHN WESLEY.”

In the midst of the multiplicity of affairs in which Mr. *Wesley* was concerned, he constantly paid atten-

tion to the spiritual welfare, not only of the members of his own society, but of those persons with whom he occasionally corresponded. The following is an instance of this kind attention and brotherly care. Sir *Hurly Trelawney* had been a *Calvinist*, and during this period, had probably been shy of Mr. *Wesley's* acquaintance. At length being convinced, that, the narrow, limited views of *John Calvin*, concerning the atonement of *Christ*, were not agreeable to the general tenor of the invitations, promises, and threatenings of the New Testament, he quitted them, and the party of the *Calvinists*. On this occasion, Mr. *Wesley* wrote to him, congratulating him on his escape, but at the same time warning him of the danger of running into the opposite extreme. This is so natural to the human mind, that it is difficult to be avoided: and by yielding to this impulse in some doctrines of importance, it is to be feared that many have been destroyed. Experience will warrant the following observation: A speculative *Calvinist*, who, convinced of the errors of his system, becomes an *Arminian* so called, is in much greater danger of falling into low, mean, unscriptural notions of *Christ* and of the *Christian* salvation, than a speculative *Arminian*, who becomes a *Calvinist*. Mr. *Wesley* seems to have been of this opinion, when he kindly cautioned his friend, against the danger which lay before him.

“ For a long time, (says he) I have had a desire to see you, but could not find an opportunity; and indeed, I had reason to believe my company would not be agreeable: as you were intimate with those who think they do God service by painting me in the most frightful colours. It gives me much satisfaction to find, that you have escaped out of the hands of those warm men—It is not at all surprising that they

they should speak a little unkindly of you too, in their turn. It gave me no small satisfaction to learn from your own lips, the falsehood of their allegation. I believed it false before, but could not affirm it, so positively as I can now.

“ Indeed it would not have been without precedent, if from one extreme, you had run into another. This was the case with that great man Dr. *Taylor*. For some years he was an earnest *Calvinist*; but afterwards, judging he could not get far enough from that melancholy system, he ran, not only into *Arianism*, but into the very dregs of *Socinianism*. I have reason indeed to believe he was convinced of his mistake, some years before he died. But to acknowledge this publicly, was too hard a task for one who had lived above eighty years.

“ You have need to be thankful on another account likewise; that is, that your prejudices against the Church of *England* are removing—Having had an opportunity of seeing several of the Churches abroad, and having deeply considered the several sorts of Dissenters at home, I am fully convinced, that our own church, with all her blemishes, is nearer the scriptural plan, than any other in *Europe*.

“ I sincerely wish you may retain your former zeal for God; only, that it may be a zeal according to knowledge. But there certainly will be a danger of your sinking into a careless, lukewarm state, without any zeal or spirit at all. As you were surfeited with an irrational, unscriptural religion, you may easily slide into no religion at all: or, into a dead form, that will never make you happy either in this world, or in that which is to come. Wishing every scriptural blessing, both to Lady *Trelawney* and you,

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate Servant,

J. W.”

Notwithstanding Mr. *Wesley's* itinerancy, his daily labour of preaching, visiting the societies, and extensive correspondence; yet he still found time to read  
many

many books. And, what is rather singular, he often met with books that are very scarce, which many men of literature, with good libraries have never seen; an instance of which will be given in speaking of the enlarged edition of his Philosophy—He read, not only books of divinity; of natural history, and moral philosophy, which came more immediately within the province of his profession, but books which treated of the most remote antiquity. Here investigation is difficult, the highest degree of evidence to be attained, a bare probability, and the subjects discussed are rather curious than useful in the conduct of life. Yet even these books Mr. *Wesley* read, with uncommon diligence and care, often collecting the substance of them into a small compass. The following is an instance of this kind.

September 1, 1781, He says “I made an end of reading that curious book, Dr. *Parson's* Remains of *Japhet*. The very ingenious author has struck much light into some of the darkest parts of ancient history. And although I cannot subscribe to every proposition which he advances, yet I apprehend, he has sufficiently proved the main of his hypothesis: namely,

“ 1. That after the flood, *Shem* and his descendants peopled the greatest parts of *Asia*: 2. That *Ham* and his children peopled *Africa*: 3. That *Europe* was peopled by the two sons of *Japhet*, *Gomer*, and *Magog*: the Southern and the South-Western by *Gomer*, and his children: and the North and North-Western, by the children of *Magog*: 4. That the former were called *Gomerians*, *Cimmerians*, and *Cimbrians*; and afterwards *Celtae*, *Galatae*, and *Gauls*: the latter were called by the general name of *Scythians*, *Scuti*, and *Scots*: 5. That the *Gomerians*, spread swiftly through the North of *Europe*, as far as the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, including *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, and divers other countries, and then into  
*Ireland*.

*Ireland*, where they multiplied very early into a considerable nation: 6. That some ages after, another part of them, who had first settled in *Spain*, sailed to *Ireland* under *Milea*, or *Milesius*, and conquering the first inhabitants, took possession of the land: 7. That about the same time the *Gomerians* came to *Ireland*, the *Magogians*, or *Sythians*, came to *Britain*; so early, that both spake the same language, and well understood each other: 8. That the *Irish* spoken by the *Gomerians*, and the *Welsh*, spoken by the *Magogians*, are one and the same language, expressed by the same seventeen letters which were long after brought, by a *Gomerian* Prince, into *Greece*: 9. That all the languages of *Europe*, *Greek* and *Latin* in particular, are derived from this: 10. That the *Antediluvian* language, spoken by all till after the flood, and then continued in the family of *Shem*, was *Hebrew*; and from this (the *Hebrew*) tongue, many of the *Eastern* languages are derived. The foregoing particulars, this fine writer has made highly probable. And these may be admitted, though we do not agree to his vehement panegyric on the *Irish* language; much less receive all the stories told by the *Irish* poets, or chroniclers, as genuine authentic history."

Candour will readily acknowledge, and envy itself must confess, that a man in the seventy-ninth year of his age, who, in the midst of daily avocations which he deemed of the highest importance to himself and others, could go through a work of this kind with so much attention, and collect the substance of it into a few general heads, must have possessed great strength of mind, and no common degree of the spirit of inquiry.

In February 1782, a person unknown proposed a few questions to Mr. *Wesley* in writing, and begged the favour of unequivocal answers. The questions and answers were as follow.



“ Is it your wish that the people called *Methodists*, should be, or become, a Body entirely separate from the Church ?”

Answer. No.

“ If not, where, that is, how often and where, I mean, upon what description of Teachers of the Establishment, are they to attend ?”

Answer. I advise them to go to church.

“ More particularly, if the fall, the corruption, and natural impotence of man, his free and full redemption in *Christ Jesus*, through faith working by love, should be taught and inculcated, and offered to the attention of *all*, at the church of the parish where they reside, are they *then* in your opinion, bound in conscience to *hear*, or may they at their own option, *forbear* ?”

Answer. I do not think they are bound in conscience, to attend any *particular* church.

“ Or if they are at liberty to absent themselves, are they at liberty, that is, have they a *Christian privilege*, to censure this doctrine in the gross, to condemn such Teachers, and boldly to pronounce them, *blind leaders of the blind* ?”

Answer. No : by no means.

“ Whenever this happens, is it through prejudice, or rational piety ? is it through bigotry, or a Catholic spirit ? is it consistent with *Christian* charity ? Is it compatible with a state of justification ? Or, is it even allowable in the high habit of evangelical perfection ?”

Answer. I think it is a sin.”

About the latter end of this year, a report prevailed, and gained credit, that Administration had an intention to bring a Bill into the House for embodying the Militia, and for exercising them on Sunday.\* On this occasion, Mr. *Wesley*, wrote the following letter to a Nobleman then high in office.

“ My

\* To the honor of his Britannic Majesty, be it recorded, that no Yeoman is now obliged to parade on the Sabbath day, except in case of rebellion or invasion. Such a privilege demands our gratitude.

“ My Lord,

“ If I wrong your Lordship I am sorry for it; but I really believe, your Lordship fears God: and I hope your Lordship has no unfavourable opinion of the *Christian* Revelation. This encourages me to trouble your Lordship with a few Lines, which otherwise I should not take upon me to do.

“ Above thirty years ago, a motion was made in Parliament, for raising and embodying the Militia, and for exercising them, to save time, on Sunday. When the motion was like to pass, an old Gentleman stood up and said, ‘ Mr. Speaker, I have one objection to this: I believe an Old Book, called the Bible.’ The Members looked at one another, and the motion was dropped.

“ Must not all others, who believe the Bible, have the very same objection? and from what I have seen, I cannot but think, these are still three fourths of the nation. Now setting religion out of the question, is it expedient to give such a shock to so many millions of people at once? And certainly it would shock them extremely: it would wound them in a very tender part. For would not they, would not all *England*, would not all *Europe*, consider this as a virtual repeal of the Bible? And would not all serious persons say, ‘ We have little religion in the land now; but by this step we shall have less still.’ For wherever this pretty show is to be seen, the people will flock together; and will lounge away so much time before and after it, that the churches will be emptier than they are already!

“ My Lord, I am concerned for this on a double account. First, because I have personal obligations to your Lordship, and would fain, even for this reason recommend your Lordship to the love and esteem of all, over whom I have any influence. Secondly, Because, I now reverence your Lordship for your office’ sake, and believe it to be my bounden duty, to do all that is in my little power, to advance your Lordship’s influence and reputation.

“ Will your Lordship permit me to add a word in my old-fashioned way? I pray Him that has all power in heaven,

ven and earth, to prosper all your endeavours for the public good, and am,

My Lord,  
Your Lordship's willing Servant,  
JOHN WESLEY."

The *Methodists* had now subsisted under this appellation, about half a century. Yet the public at large had very imperfect notions of their principles, and scarcely knew any thing of their internal economy. The most candid writers in opposition to them, were grossly ignorant in these respects; and others did not scruple a little misrepresentation. If this was the case at home, we cannot suppose that the representations of them, would be more accurate *abroad*. The foreign *Journalists* would naturally copy from our own, and from those who had expressly written against them. This has been the situation of most denominations of *Christians*, who have been obnoxious to the rulers, either of an establishment, or, of any very popular or powerful party. And from what has happened in our own time, we may well conjecture what has taken place in times past, when ignorance and prejudice were much more predominant, and the means of accurate knowledge much less general. Thus, the accounts we now have of the ancient *heretics*, are almost wholly taken from the representations of their avowed enemies, or from those who only retailed common reports. And such was the case at present, with respect to the character of the *Methodists* in foreign countries. In November, Mr. *Wesley* received a letter from Dr. *Burkehardt*, Pastor of the *German Church* at the *Savoy*. The Doctor informs him—That he had lately read in a *German* periodical publication, a most ill-natured account of the *Methodists* in *England*: that he thought it his duty to oppose these prejudices

in

in his own country, which he deemed injurious to the interests of *Christianity*; that he intended to write a *true* history of *Methodism*, describing its origin, nature, progress, and present state, for the benefit of his countrymen: and, that he requested Mr. *Wesley*, to direct him to *authentic* materials for such a work, and help him to procure them.\*—The design was candid and liberal; but whether it was executed, we cannot say.

In June 1783, Mr. *Wesley* went over to *Holland*, and spent his birth-day, completing the eightieth year of his age, in this country. That he was pleased with his visit, the following extracts from his 20th Journal, prove.

On the 12th of June, 1783, he sailed from *Harwich*, and landed at *Helvoetsluys* the following day. Mr. *Wesley's* descriptions of the natural beauties and curiosities

The original Letter is as follows:

“ Viro summe Reverendo J. WESLEY,

S. P. D.

Johannes Theophilus Burekardt, Pastor Germ. ad ædem.  
St. Mariæ (Savoy.)

“ Legi nuperime, in libro quodam germanico periodico, judicia per-versissima de Methodistis in *Anglia*. Mei itaque esse puto, iustiusmodi preconceptis opinionibus, quæ sunt rei christianæ valde noxiæ, in patria mea obviam ire, veramque Methodismi historiam, originem, naturam, fata ac statum præsentem popularibus meis enarrare ac describere. Peto igitur a Te, VIR VENERANDE, ut mihi, talem historiam scripturo, genuinos fontes indicare, atque scripta suppeditare velis, quibus ista historia jam pertractata est, et quæ ad illustrandam illam faciunt. *Pittius*, unus ex prædecessoribus meis, sine dubio Tibi non ignotus fuit. Cæterum, ex animo precor Deum, Patrem Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI, ut in commodum ecclesiæ suæ, senectutem Tuam juvenili robore induere atque ornare, Teque diu inter nos in posterum conservare velit. Vale, mihi que save!”

Londini, in Savoy-Square, d. 28 Novbr. 1782:

sities of *Holland*, are entertaining in a high degree, but do not, we think, directly come within the limits of our work. He was favoured with the company of many eminent Ministers of the church of *Holland*, as well as of the *English* Ministers in the commercial towns. With the former he conversed in Latin. In the episcopal church at *Rotterdam* he preached twice to large congregations; the first time, on *God created man in his own image*, and the people “seemed, all but their attention, dead:” the second time, on *God hath given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son*: he observes, “Were it only for this hour, I am glad I came to *Holland*.”

One thing Mr. *Wesley* observed was this, and the same in all the churches in *Holland*. At coming in, no one looks on the right or the left hand, or bows or curtsies to any one: but all go straight forward to their seats, as if no other person was in the place. During the service, none turns his head on either side, or looks at any thing, but his book or the Minister. And in going out, none takes notice of any one, but all go straight forward till they are in the open air.

At the *Hague*, he was invited to tea by Madam *de Vassenaar*, a lady of the first rank in that city. She received him with that easy openness and affability, which is almost peculiar to christians, and persons of quality. Soon after came ten or twelve ladies more, who seemed to be of her own rank, (though dressed quite plain,) and two most agreeable gentlemen, one of whom was a Colonel in the Prince's guards. After tea, he expounded the three first verses of the thirteenth of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; and Captain *M*—— interpreted sentence by sentence. Mr. *Wesley* then prayed, and Colonel *V*—— prayed after him.

On

On the following day, he dined at Mrs. *L.*—'s. Her mother, upwards of seventy, seemed to be continually rejoicing in God her Saviour. The daughter breathed the same spirit: and her grand-children, three little girls and a boy, seemed to be all love. A gentleman coming in after dinner, Mr. *Wesley* found a particular desire to pray for him. In a little while, the stranger melted into tears, as indeed did most of the company. The next day *Madam de Vassenaar* invited Mr. *Wesley* to a meeting at a neighbouring lady's house; where he expounded Gal. vi. 14, and Captain *M.* interpreted as before.

In his way from *Haerlem* to *Amsterdam*, he met with several fellow-passengers who were truly serious. Some of them sung hymns in a very pleasing manner; and his and their hearts were so knit together in christian love, that their parting at *Amsterdam* was very affecting.

In that city he visited a lady of large fortune, who appeared to be entirely devoted to God. "There is such a childlike simplicity" (observes Mr. *Wesley* concerning *Amsterdam*) "in all that love God in this city, as does honour to the religion they profess."

Saturday 21. He adds, "We breakfasted with a very extraordinary woman, who lamented that she could not talk to us but by an interpreter. However she made us understand, that she had a little child some years since, three or four years old, that was praying continually: that one morning, having just dressed her, she said, "Will you go kiss your sister!" She said, "Yes, Mamma; and I will kiss you too:" and threw her arms about her mother's neck: who said, "My dear, where will you go now?" She said, "I will go to Jesus;" and died.

After

After performing service in the *English* church, he visited a Mr. *B.* who had, not long before, found peace with God. This gentleman was full of faith and love, and could hardly mention the goodness of God without tears. His lady seemed to be exactly of the same spirit. From thence he went to another house, where a large company was assembled ; and all seemed open to receive instruction, and desirous to be altogether christians.

On the 28th of June, he made the following observation : “ I have this day lived fourscore years ; and by the mercy of God, my eyes are not waxed dim ; and what little strength of body or mind I had thirty years since, just the same I have now. God grant I may never live to be useless. Rather may I

“ My body with my charge lay down,  
And cease at once to work and live.”

On the next day he preached in the *English* church at *Utrecht*, a very faithful, searching sermon ; and afterwards dined with a merchant, who seemed to be deeply acquainted with religion. In the evening, at the desire of several persons, he repeated in a private house the substance of his morning's sermon, to a large company, Mr. *Toydemea* (the Professor of Law in the University) interpreting it sentence by sentence. The congregation then sung a *Dutch* hymn, and Mr. *Wesley* and his companions an *English* one. Afterwards Mr. *Regulet*, a venerable old man, spent some time in prayer ; for the establishment of peace between the two nations.

On Tuesday, July 1. He sailed from *Helvoetsluis* ;\* but through contrary winds did not arrive at *Harwich*

\* In the year 1786, he again visited *Holland*. Nothing new arose during this tour. Many of the Ministers waited on him. Some of the churches

*Harwich* till the Friday following. He observes on the whole, that the persons with whom he conversed in *Holland*, were of the same spirit with his friends in *England*; and that he was as much at home in *Utrecht* and *Amsterdam*, as in *Bristol* and *London*.

“ How entirely (he adds) were we mistaken in the *Hollanders*, supposing them to be of a cold, phlegmatic, unfriendly temper! I have not met with a more warmly-affectionate people, in all *Europe*! No, not in *Ireland*!”

The year 1784, brings us to the grand *climacterical* year of *Methodism*. Not indeed, if we number the years of its existence, but if we regard the changes which

churches were opened. He preached and expounded in many private houses; and received many marks of courtesy from several pious persons of rank and fortune, particularly from Mr. *Loten*, one of the Burgho-masters of *Utrecht*, who both at this time and on his former visit, seemed studious to shew him proof of his regard and attention. Miss *Loten*, his daughter, a most amiable and pious young lady, continued to correspond with Mr. *Wesley* till his death, in the *English* language, which she well understood.

He had no design in visiting *Holland*, to form Societies. He made these visits partly for relaxation, and partly to indulge and enlarge his Catholic spirit, by forming an acquaintance with the truly pious in foreign nations. He often with great satisfaction reflected on the sameness of true religion in every country. He saw that the genuine spirit of piety, in every time and place, tends to promote union of heart and brotherly kindness. The same simplicity of manners and dress he also observed, even in those of the highest rank that professed godliness. The meetings for Christian fellowship he found to be very similar to those he had himself established. But as few of the Ministers of the church of *Holland* seemed to encourage or rightly understand the excellency of this great help to piety; and as the intolerant spirit of the national Establishment prevented these pious persons from having Ministers after their own heart, they were on these accounts deprived of the advantages of christian discipline. Being therefore in a great measure left to themselves, those in the higher circles have formed an union which seems to exclude the poor. We need not observe how contrary this is to the spirit of Christianity: but the Lord will in his own good time remove from that lovely people this want of conformity to his pure gospel. Dr. COKE.



which now took place in the form of its *original* Constitution. The changes to which we allude, were, 1. The Deed of Declaration; and, 2. Ordination. These undoubtedly laid the foundation of a *New* Order of things among the *Methodists*, hitherto unknown.

Mr. *Myles*, in his Chronological History of the *Methodists*, observes in page 144 of his second edition, that on "February 28, 1784, Mr. *Wesley* executed the DEED OF DECLARATION, constituting one hundred of the travelling Preachers, "The Conference of the People called Methodists." The design of this was to give a legal specification of that phrase, "The Conference of the People called Methodists," which is inserted in all the Deeds of the Chapels. By virtue of this Deed, the Conference claims the power of appointing Preachers to preach in those Chapels. It is as follows:

*An Attested Copy of Mr. WESLEY'S Declaration and Establishment of the Conference of the People called Methodists, enrolled in his Majesty's High Court of Chancery.*

TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come, *John Wesley*, late of Lincoln-College, *Oxford*, but now of the City-Road, London, Clerk, sendeth greeting:

WHEREAS divers Buildings, commonly called Chapels, with a messuage and dwelling-house, or other appurtenances to each of the same belonging, situate in various parts of *Great-Britain*, have been given and conveyed from time to time by the said *John Wesley* to certain persons and their heirs in each of the said gifts and conveyances named; which are enrolled in his Majesty's High Court of *Chancery*, upon the acknowledgment of the said *John Wesley*, (pursuant to the act of Parliament in that case made and provided) upon trust, that the Trustees in the said several deeds respectively

tively named, and the survivors of them and their heirs and assigns, and the Trustees for the time being to be elected as in the said deeds is appointed, should permit and suffer the said *John Wesley* and such other person and persons as he should for that purpose from time to time nominate and appoint, at all times during his life, at his will and pleasure to have and enjoy the free use and benefit of the said premises, that he the said *John Wesley* and such person and persons as he should nominate and appoint, might therein preach and expound God's holy word: And upon further trust that the said respective trustees and the survivors of them, and their heirs and assigns, and the trustees for the time being, should permit and suffer *Charles Wesley*, brother of the said *John Wesley*, and such other person and persons, as the said *Charles Wesley* should for that purpose from time to time nominate and appoint, in like manner during his life—To have, use, and enjoy the said premises respectively for the like purposes as aforesaid: and after the decease of the survivor of them the said *John Wesley* and *Charles Wesley*, then upon further trust, that the said respective Trustees and the survivors of them and their heirs and assigns, and the Trustees for the time being for ever, should permit and suffer such person and persons and for such time and times as should be appointed at the yearly Conference of the People called *Methodists* in *London*, *Bristol*, or *Leeds*, and no others, to have and enjoy the said premises for the purposes aforesaid: And whereas divers persons have in like manner given or conveyed many chapels, with messuages and dwelling-houses or other appurtenances to the same belonging, situate in various parts of *Great-Britain*, and also in *Ireland*, to certain trustees, in each of the said gifts and conveyances respectively named upon the like trusts, and for the same uses and purposes as aforesaid (except only that in some of the said gifts and conveyances, no life estate or other interest is therein or thereby given and reserved to the said *Charles Wesley*.) And whereas, for rendering effectual the trusts created by the said several gifts or conveyances, and that no doubt or litigation may arise with

respect unto the same, or the interpretation and true meaning thereof, it has been thought expedient by the said *John Wesley*, on behalf of himself as donor of the several chapels, with the messuages, dwelling-houses, or appurtenances before mentioned, as of the donors of the said other chapels, with the messuages, dwelling-houses or appurtenances to the same belonging given or conveyed to the like uses and trusts, to explain the words "Yearly Conference of the people called *Methodists*," contained in all the said trust deeds, and to declare what persons are members of the said Conference, and how the succession and identity thereof is to be continued: *Now therefore these presents witness*, that for accomplishing the aforesaid purposes, the said *John Wesley* doth hereby declare, that the Conference of the people called *Methodists*, in *London*, *Bristol*, or *Leeds*, ever since there hath been any yearly Conference of the said people called *Methodists* in any of the said places, hath always heretofore consisted of the Preachers and Expounders of God's holy word, commonly called *Methodist* Preachers, in connexion with, and under the care of the said *John Wesley*, whom he hath thought expedient year after year to summon to meet him, in one or other of the said places, of *London*, *Bristol*, or *Leeds*, to advise with them for the promotion of the gospel of Christ, to appoint the said persons so summoned, and the other Preachers and Expounders of God's holy word, also in connexion with, and under the care of the said *John Wesley*, not summoned to the said yearly Conference, to the use and enjoyment of the said chapels and premises so given and conveyed upon trust for the said *John Wesley*, and such other person and persons as he should appoint during his life as aforesaid, and for the expulsion of unworthy and admission of new persons under his care and into his connexion to be Preachers and Expounders as aforesaid, and also of other persons upon trial for the like purposes; the names of all which persons so summoned by the said *John Wesley*, the persons appointed, with the chapels and premises to which they were so appointed, together with the duration of such appoint-

appointments, and of those expelled or, admitted into connexion or upon trial, with all other matters transacted and done at the said yearly Conference, have year by year been printed and published under the title of Minutes of Conference. *And these presents further witness*, and the said John Wesley doth hereby avouch and further declare, that the several persons herein after named, to wit, the said John Wesley and Charles Wesley,\* of the city of London; John Allen,\* Bristol; Charles Atmore, York; John Booth, Colchester; Jeremiah Brettel, Lynn; John Barber, Northampton; John Broadbent,\* Oxford; John Brettel,\* Gloucester; Samuel Bardsley, Macclesfield; Joseph Bradford, Leicester; Samuel Bradburn, Leeds; Isaac Brown, Birstall; Joseph Benson, Halifax; George Button, Isle of Man; Thomas Briscoe,\* Yarm; William Boothby,\* Newcastle upon Tyne; Andrew Blair,\* Cork; George Brown, Clones; Thomas Barber, Charlemont; Thomas Coke, London; James Creighton, London; Thomas Cooper, Colchester; Joseph Cole,\* Oxford; Jonathan Cousins, Gloucester; Thomas Carlill,\* Grimsby; Thomas Corbitt,\* Gainsborough; Robert Costerdine,\* Colne; William Collins,\* Sunderland; John Crook, Lisburne; William Dufton,\* Halifax; Thomas Dixon, Newcastle upon Tyne; John Easton,\* Colne; John Fenwick,\* Burslem; Henry Foster,\* Belfast; William Green,\* Bristol; John Goodwin, Chester; Parson Greenwood,\* Liverpool; James Hall,\* Plymouth; William Hoskins,\* Cardiff; Joseph Harper,\* Grimsby; Thomas Hanby,\* Burslem; Thomas Hanson,\* Huddersfield; Lancelot Harrison, Scarborough; Robert Hopkins, York; Christopher Hopper,\* Newcastle upon Tyne; William Hunter,\* Berwick upon Tweed; Edward Jackson, Hull; Daniel Jackson, Dublin; Joshua Keighley,\* Seven Oaks; John Leech, Brecon; Thomas Longley, Derby; Robert Lindsay,\* Sligo; John Mason,\* Salisbury; John Moon,\* Plymouth Dock; John Murlin,\* Manchester; William Myles, Nottingham; Alexander Mather,\* Bradforth; Henry Moore, Cork; Duncan M'Allum, Aberdeen; Jonathan Parkin, Lynn;

Lynn; Joseph Pescod, Bedford; William Percival, Manchester; John Pawson, York; Christopher Peacock,\* Yarn; John Peacock,\* Barnard Castle; Nehemiah Price,\* Athlone; Richard Rodda, Birmingham; Thomas Rankin,\* London; James Rogers, Macclesfield; Jeremiah Robertshaw,\* Liecester; James Ray,\* Gainsborough; Robert Roberts,\* Leeds; Benjamin Rhodes, Keighley; Jasper Robinson,\* Isle of Man; Thomas Rutherford, Dublin; George Story, Salisbury; William Saunders,\* Brecon; William Simpson,\* Sheffield; Robert Scott,\* Lincoln; George Shadford,\* Hull; John Shaw,\* Huddersfield; Joseph Saunderson, Dundee; Thomas Tennant,\* London; James Thom, St. Austle; Joseph Taylor, Redruth; Thomas Taylor, Sheffield; William Thonipson,\* Leeds; Barnabas Thomas,\* Hull; William Thom,\* Whitby; Zechariah Udall, Liverpool; Thomas Vasey, Liverpool; John Valton,\* Bristol; James Wood, Rochester; Richard Whatcoat, Norwich; Christopher Watkins,\* Northampton; Francis Wrigley, St. Austle; Duncan Wright,\* Chester; William Warrenner, Dundee; Richard Watkinson,\* Limerick; Gentlemen, being Preachers and Expounders of God's holy word under the care and in connexion with the said John Wesley, have been, and now are, and do, on the day of the date hereof, constitute the Members of the said Conference, according to the true intent and meaning of the said several gifts and conveyances wherein the words "Conference of the People called *Methodists*," are mentioned and contained. And that the said several persons before-named, and, their successors for ever, to be chosen as herein after mentioned, are and shall for ever be construed, taken and be the Conference of the People called *Methodists*. Nevertheless upon the terms and subject to the regulations herein-after prescribed, that is to say,

*First,*

*Note.* At the end of the names, are the places where those Preachers were stationed at the time the Deed was made and inrolled. This mark \* shews that those Preachers have died, or ceased to travel; as none but Itinerant Preachers can be of the hundred who constitute the Conference.

*First,* That the members of the said Conference, and their successors for the time being for ever, shall assemble once in every year, at *London, Bristol, or Leeds* (except as after mentioned) for the purposes aforesaid; and the time and place of holding every subsequent Conference shall be appointed at the preceding one, save the next Conference after the date hereof, shall be holden at *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, the last Tuesday in July next.

*Second,* The act of the majority in number of the Conference assembled as aforesaid, shall be had, taken, and be the act of the whole Conference to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatsoever.

*Third,* That after the Conference shall be assembled as aforesaid, they shall first proceed to fill up all the vacancies occasioned by death or absence as after mentioned.

*Fourth,* No act of the conference assembled as aforesaid, shall be had taken or be the Act of the Conference, until forty of the members thereof are assembled, unless reduced under that number by death since the prior Conference or absence as after mentioned; nor until all the vacancies occasioned by death or absence shall be filled up by the election of new members of the Conference, so as to make up the number one hundred, unless there be not a sufficient number of persons objects of such election: and during the assembly of the Conference there shall always be forty members present at the doing of any act, save as aforesaid, or otherwise such act shall be void.

*Fifth,* The duration of the yearly assembly of the Conference, shall not be less than five days, nor more than three weeks, and be concluded by the appointment of the Conference, if under twenty-one days; or otherwise the conclusion thereof shall follow of course at the end of the said twenty-one days; the whole of all which said time of the assembly of the Conference shall be had, taken, considered, and be the yearly Conference of the People called *Methodists*, and all acts of the Conference during such yearly assembly thereof, shall be the act of the Conference and none others.

*Sixth,*

*Sixth,* Immediately after all the vacancies occasioned by death or absence are filled up by the election of new members as aforesaid, the Conference shall choose a President and Secretary of their assembly out of themselves, who shall continue such until the election of another President or Secretary in the next, or other subsequent Conference; and the said President shall have the privilege and power of two members in all acts of the Conference during his presidency, and such other powers, privileges and authorities, as the Conference shall from time to time see fit to entrust into his hands.

*Seventh,* Any member of the Conference absenting himself from the yearly assembly thereof for two years successively without the consent or dispensation of the Conference, and be not present on the first day of the third yearly assembly thereof at the time and place appointed for the holding of the same, shall cease to be a member of the Conference from and after the said first day of the said third yearly assembly thereof to all intents and purposes, as though he was naturally dead. But the Conference shall and may dispense with or consent to the absence of any member from any of the said yearly assemblies, for any cause which the Conference may see fit or necessary, and such member whose absence shall be so dispensed with, or consented to by the Conference, shall not by such absence cease to be a member thereof.

*Eighth,* The Conference shall and may expel and put out from being a member thereof, or from being in connexion therewith, or from being upon trial, any person member of the Conference, admitted into connexion, or upon trial, for any cause which the Conference may see fit or necessary; and every member of the Conference so expelled and put out, shall cease to be a member thereof to all intents and purposes, as though he was naturally dead. And the Conference immediately after the expulsion of any member thereof as aforesaid, shall elect another person to be a member of the Conference in the stead of such member so expelled.

*Ninth,* The Conference shall and may admit into connexion with them, or upon trial, any person or persons whom

whom they shall approve, to be Preachers and Expounders of God's holy word, under the care and direction of the Conference, the name of every such person or persons so admitted into connexion or upon trial as aforesaid, with the time and degrees of the admission, being entered in the Journals or Minutes of the Conference.

*Tenth,* No person shall be elected a member of the Conference who hath not been admitted in connexion with the Conference as a Preacher and Expounder of God's holy word, as aforesaid, for twelve months.

*Eleventh,* The Conference shall not nor may nominate or appoint any person to the use and enjoyment of, or to preach and expound God's holy word in, any of the chapels and premises so given or conveyed, or which may be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, who is not either a member of the Conference, or admitted into connexion with the same, or upon trial as aforesaid; nor appoint any person for more than three years successively to the use and enjoyment of any chapels and premises already given, or to be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, except ordained ministers of the church of *England*.

*Twelfth,* That the Conference shall and may appoint the place of holding the yearly assembly thereof at any other city, town, or place than *London, Bristol, or Leeds*, when it shall seem expedient so to do.

*Thirteenth,* And for the convenience of the chapels and premises already or which may hereafter be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, situate in *Ireland* or other parts out of the kingdom of *Great-Britain*, the Conference shall and may, when and as often as it shall seem expedient, but not otherwise, appoint and delegate any member or members of the Conference with all or any of the powers, privileges, and advantages herein before contained or vested in the Conference; and all and every the acts, admissions, expulsions, and appointments whatsoever of such member or members of the Conference so appointed and delegated as aforesaid, the same being put into writing, and signed by such delegate

or



or delegates, and entered in the Journals or Minutes of the Conference and subscribed as after-mentioned, shall be deemed, taken and be, the acts, admissions, expulsions, and appointments of the Conference, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, from the respective times, when the same shall be done by such delegate or delegates; notwithstanding any thing herein contained to the contrary.

*Fourteenth,* All resolutions and orders touching elections, admissions, expulsions, consents, dispensations, delegations, or appointments and acts whatsoever of the Conference shall be entered and written in the Journals or Minutes of the Conference which shall be kept for that purpose, publicly read, and then subscribed by the President and Secretary thereof for the time being, during the time such Conference shall be assembled; and when so entered and subscribed, shall be had, taken, received and be the Acts of the Conference, and such entry and subscription as aforesaid shall be had, taken, received, and be evidence of all and every such acts of the said Conference and of their said Delegates without the aid of any other proof; and whatever shall not be so entered and subscribed as aforesaid, shall not be had, taken, received, or be the Act of the Conference: and the said President and Secretary are hereby required and obliged to enter and subscribe as aforesaid every Act whatever of the Conference.

*Lastly,* Whenever the said Conference shall be reduced under the number of forty members, and continue so reduced for three yearly assemblies thereof successively, or whenever the members thereof shall decline or neglect to meet together annually for the purposes aforesaid, during the space of three years, that then, and in either of the said events, the Conference of the people called *Methodists* shall be extinguished, and all the aforesaid powers, privileges, and advantages shall cease, and the said chapels and premises, and all other chapels and premises, which now are, or hereafter may be settled, given or conveyed, upon the trusts aforesaid, shall vest in the Trustees for the time being of the said chapels and premises respectively, and their successors for ever: UPON TRUST  
that

that they, and the survivors of them, and the Trustees for the time being, do, shall, and may appoint such person and persons to preach and expound God's holy word therein, and to have the use and enjoyment thereof, for such time, and in such manner as to them shall seem proper.

Provided always that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend, to extinguish, lessen, or abridge the Life-estate of the said *John Wesley*, and *Charles Wesley*, or either of them, of and in any of the said chapels and premises, or any other chapels and premises, wherein they the said *John Wesley*, and *Charles Wesley*, or either of them now have, or may have any estate or interest, power or authority whatsoever. In witness whereof the said *John Wesley* hath hereto set his hand and seal, the twenty-eighth day of February, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of *Great-Britain, France, and Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-four.

JOHN WESLEY.

Sealed and Delivered (being first duly  
stamped) in the presence of }

WILLIAM CLULOW, *Quality-Court, Chancery-Lanc, London.*

RICHARD YOUNG, Clerk to the said William Clulow.

*The above is a true Copy of the original Deed (which is enrolled in Chancery) and was therewith examined by us,*

WILLIAM CLULOW.

RICHARD YOUNG.

This Deed was further confirmed at a Conference held in *London*, July 30, 1785, as may be seen by the following extracts from the Minutes.

*London, July 30, 1785.*

“ We whose names are underwritten, do declare that Mr. *Wesley* was desired, at the last *Bristol* Conference, without a dissentient voice, to draw up a Deed which should give a legal specification of the phrase, “ The Conference

Conference of the People called *Methodists*:" and that the mode of doing it was entirely left to his judgment and direction.

"And we do also declare, That we do approve of the substance and design of the Deed which Mr. *Wesley* has accordingly executed and enrolled."

*London, July 30, 1785.*

"We whose names are underwritten, but who were not present at the last *Bristol* Conference, do declare our approbation of the substance and design of the Deed which Mr. *Wesley* has lately executed and enrolled for the purpose of giving a legal specification of the phrase, "The Conference of the People called *Methodists*."

The former was signed by thirty-nine preachers, the latter by thirty: the whole of the Preachers who were at the Conference.

The following is the Deed for settling the preaching-houses, as it was published in the year 1788. All that part respecting Mr. *Wesley* must now be left out of the Deeds of the Chapels, as he is no more.

"THIS INDENTURE made———between *Benjamin Heaps*, of———, in the county of———  
——— on the one part, and *Thomas Philips*, Hatter, on the other part, WITNESSETH, That in consideration of five shillings, lawful money of *Great-Britain*, by the said *T. P.* and to the said *B. H.* truly paid, before the sealing and delivering hereof (the receipt whereof the said *B. H.* doth hereby acknowledge) and for divers other considerations him thereunto moving; the said *B. H.* hath granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents doth bargain and sell, unto the said *T. P.* and their heirs and assigns for ever, All that lately erected house or teneiment, with the yard thereunto adjoining, situate in———aforesaid, now in the tenure or occupation of———, together with all the ways,  
and

drains and privileges to the said premises appertaining, and all the profits thereof, with all the right, title and interest in law and equity: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, the said house, yard and other premises, to the said *T. P.* their heirs and assigns for ever. NEVERTHELESS upon special trust and confidence, and to the intent that they and the survivors of them, and the Trustees for the time being, do and shall permit *John Wesley* of the City Road, *London*, Clerk, and such other persons as he shall from time to time, and at all times during his natural life appoint, and no other persons, to have and enjoy the free use and benefit of the said premises; that the said *John Wesley*, and such other persons as he appoints, may therein preach and expound God's holy word. And after his decease, upon farther trust and confidence, and to the intent that the said *T. P.* or the major part of them, or the survivors of them, and the major part of the Trustees of the said premises for the time being, shall from time to time, and at all times for ever, permit such persons as shall be appointed at the yearly Conference of the people called *Methodists*, as established by a Deed-Poll of the said *John Wesley* under his hand and seal, bearing date the 28th day of February in the year 1784, and enrolled in his Majesty's High Court of Chancery, and no others, to have and to enjoy the said premises, for the purposes aforesaid. Provided always, that the said persons preach no other doctrine than is contained in *Mr. Wesley's* Notes upon the New Testament, and four volumes of Sermons: and upon further trust and confidence, that as often as any of these Trustees, or the Trustees for the time being, shall die, or cease to be a member of the Society commonly called *Methodists*, the rest of the said Trustees, or of the Trustees for the time being, as soon as conveniently may be, shall and may choose another Trustee or Trustees, in order to keep up the number of — Trustees for ever. In witness whereof the said *B. H.* hath hereunto set his hand and seal, the day and year above written."

If the preaching-house be in debt, a clause may be inserted, empowering the Trustees to mortgage the premises.

At

At the Conference in 1790, it was added, "No house shall be undertaken, nor a stone laid, till the house is settled after the Methodist form, verbatim. N. B. No lawyer is to alter one line, neither need any be employed."

The Deeds of the Preaching-houses must have, on the first skin of parchment, one twenty shillings stamp, and one ten shillings stamp, and no other. On the second skin of parchment, one twenty shillings stamp, and no other. On the third skin, (if wanting) to the sixteenth. the same.

If it relate to a Preaching-house out of *London*, it must be acknowledged by the person or persons conveying the premises to Trustees, (after the execution of it) before a Master Extraordinary in Chancery. N. B. Almost every eminent Attorney at Law in the country, is a Master Extraordinary in Chancery. It must be presented to the Enrollment Office, within six lunar months after its date, or it is of no value. A lunar month is twenty-eight days.

The following words, or words to this purport, must be inserted on the margin of the Deed, by the Master in Chancery: "*A. B.* of the parish of ——— in the county of ——— (and *C. D.* &c. if the premises have been purchased in the names of two or more) did appear before me, this ——— day of ——— in the year of ———, and did acknowledge that he did sign, seal and deliver this Indenture as his own Act and Deed; and prays that the same may be enrolled in His Majesty's High Court of Chancery.

E. F.

*Master Extraordinary in Chancery.*"

Mr. *Wesley's* love, and care for such Preachers as feared they might in any degree suffer by this Deed, is evident from the following letter which he wrote about a year afterwards, and committed to Mr. *Joseph Bradford*; who accordingly presented it to the Conference, at their first meeting after his decease, at *Ches-ter*, April 7, 1785.

"MY

" MY DEAR BRETHREN,

" Some of our travelling Preachers have expressed a fear, that after my decease you would exclude them, either from preaching in connexion with you, or from some other privileges which they now enjoy. I know no other way to prevent any such inconvenience, than to leave these my last words with you.

" I beseech you by the mercies of God, that you never avail yourselves of the *Deed of Declaration*, to assume any superiority over your brethren: but let all things go on, among those itinerants who choose to remain together, exactly in the same manner as when I was with you, so far as circumstances will permit.

" In particular I beseech you, if you ever loved me, and if you now love God and your brethren, to have no respect of persons in stationing the Preachers, in choosing children for *Kingswood-School*, in disposing of the yearly contribution and the Preacher's fund, or any other public money: but do all things with a single eye, as I have done from the beginning. Go on thus, doing all things without prejudice or partiality, and God will be with you even to the end.

JOHN WESLEY."

The Conference immediately and unanimously resolved, that all the Preachers who were in full connexion with them, should enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoy, agreeably to the above written letter of their venerable deceased Father in the Gospel, and consistent with the *Deed of Declaration*.

## CHAPTER V.

*Some Preachers being offended at the Deed, attempt to make a party; but being disappointed leave the Society. Introduction of Methodism into Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark. Mr. Wesley ordains Dr. Coke. Progress of Methodism in America. Several particulars of the last years of Mr. Wesley's life: with an Account of his sickness and Death in March, 1791. His Will, &c.*

IN the 27th of July, 1784, the forty-first Conference was held at *Leeds*. Messrs. *John Hampson*, sen. and *John Hampson*, jun. his son; *William Eells*, and *Joseph Pillmoor*, with a few other travelling Preachers, were greatly offended at the Deed Mr. *Wesley* had executed. Their names were not inserted in it. They strove to make a party among the Preachers, but were disappointed. By Mr. *Fletcher's* friendly efforts, a partial reconciliation was effected between them and Mr. *Wesley*: but it was of short continuance. Soon after the Conference, Mr. *Hampson*, senior, became an Independant Minister; but being old and infirm, and the people poor among whom he laboured, he was assisted with £.12 a year out of the Preachers' Fund while he lived. The Conference took no notice of his death in their yearly Minutes. He died in the year 1795. Mr. *Hampson*, jun.\* procured ordination in the

Established

\* Mr. *John Hampson*, in 1791, published in *Sunderland*, three small volumes, which he entitled, "Memoirs of the late REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M. with a Review of his Life and Writings, and a History of Methodism, from its commencement in 1729, to the time of publication." In his Preface he states, that this Work was intended for publication during

Established Church, and got a living in *Sunderland*, in the north of *England*. Mr. *Ells* also left the connexion, and some time after, joined Mr. *Atlay* at *Devesbury*; and Mr. *Pillmoor* went to *America*, but not in connexion with Mr. *Wesley*.

At this time, Mr. *Nicholas Manners*, one of the travelling Preachers, had disturbed the connexion in some measure, by preaching false doctrine. He denied original sin. His case was considered at Conference, and the brethren came to the following conclusion: "No preacher who denies original sin, can preach among us: and we advise our brethren not to hear him." He was a good, mistaken man. After some time he went to *America*, and strove to spread his opinions there; but he failed in his design. He then returned to *England*, and sunk into obscurity.

One of the *Norman Isles*, *Jersey*, appeared on the minutes at this time. In the countries we have hitherto considered, (the *Isle of Man* excepted) the *English* language has been universally spoken. But Divine Providence led Mr. *Wesley*, with the Preachers in connexion with him, into an unexpected line of usefulness.

The islands of *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, *Alderney*, and *Sark*, are situated in *St. Michael's Bay*, near the coast of *Normandy*. They are the only remains of the

during Mr *Wesley's* life. We feel no hesitation in doubting the truth of this assertion, as also the authentic documents, of which he makes particular mention, in an advertisement prefixed to his *second volume*. In this work, which is certainly the effort of an ingenious, but disingenuous mind, is strikingly evinced, to what spirit a man may yield, when labouring under the burden of disappointment and prejudice. We deem ourselves not too severe; and refer our readers, to the Reviewers of Mr. *Hampson's* slanderous production, who pronounce it to be, "a work replete with calumny and invective, the vindictive effusions of a disappointed apostate!"



the *Norman* dominions annexed to *Great-Britain* by *William* the Conqueror. The inhabitant in general, (those of the two principal towns excepted) speak only *French*.

In a regiment of soldiers, which was sent over to *Jersey* in the *American* war, there were a few serious Christians who had heard the Gospel in one of the sea-port towns of *England*. These men finding no help for their souls in the Island, wrote to Mr. *Wesley*, entreating him to send them a Preacher. Mr. *Brackenbury*, a gentleman of fortune in *Lincolnshire*, who had joined the Society, and afterwards preached in connexion with Mr. *Wesley*, was present when the letter was received, and offered his service, as he had some acquaintance with the French language. Mr. *Wesley* readily accepted the offer. Mr. *Brackenbury*\* set off for *Jersey*, rented a house in the town of *St. Helier*, preached the Gospel through the Island, and was the means of turning many from their sins to God.

In the year 1786, Mr. *Wesley* sent Mr. *Adam Clarke* to the Island of *Jersey*. In the course of these events, a shopkeeper of the Island of *Guernsey*, whose name was *Arrivé*, visited *Jersey*, and under the preaching of Mr. *Brackenbury* was brought to repentance. He then invited Mr. *Brackenbury* to visit *Guernsey*: he went, and was universally well received. Dr. *Coke*, who about this time visited these islands, followed Mr. *Brackenbury* in *Guernsey*, and formed the first Society in that Island. Afterwards Mr. *Clarke*, with much pain and difficulty, accompanied by many remarkable providences, which for want of room, we regret omitting, erected a very commodious

\* Did not this man sacrifice his situation and commence Itinerant?

commodious chapel in the town of *St. Peter*, in which a large congregation regularly attended.

Mr. *De Queteville*, a native of *Jersey*, was also very useful in the midst of great persecution in the Island of *Guernsey*, particularly in the country parts, where the *French* language alone is spoken.

In the beginning of the year 1787, Mr. *Clarke*\* visited the Isle of *Alderney*. When he arrived, he knew not where to go: he had no acquaintance in

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\* Mr. ADAM CLARKE —It may not be unacceptable to note here, that he is a native of the North of *Ireland*—that at an early period, he closed in with the offers of divine mercy; in 1782, gave himself up to the ministry, and continues to labour with uncommon acceptance, and is greatly acknowledged by his Lord. During his time of officiating in *Dublin*, in the year 1790, he was the means of instituting a Philanthropic body, which is fitly styled, THE STRANGER'S FRIEND SOCIETY. Several Annual Accounts of the nature and design of this Institution have been presented to the public; nor have Benefactions been solicited in vain, and by the merciful contributions of the humane, thousands of deserving objects of every denomination, (except Methodists) are seasonably rescued from the extreme of human wretchedness. No doubt, the blessing of those who were ready to perish, has, and shall come upon the founder, conductors, and supporters of this God-like charity! Since the above period, similar bodies have been formed by most of the large Methodist Societies in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. •

That Mr. *Clarke's* usefulness has not been confined to the specified duties required of an Itinerant Preacher, still further appears, from those Publications to which his name is prefixed, viz I. A correct translation of *Sturth's Reflections*, in 4 neat volumes. The demand for this has been very considerable—a new edition has just made its appearance. II. A Pamphlet on the Abuse of Tobacco, Tea, Coffee, and Spirituous Liquors. III. An edition of *Baxter's Christian Directory* abridged. IV. An edition corrected and enlarged, of the *Abbe Fleurey's History of the Ancient Israelites*. The good Bishop *Horne* strongly recommends this Work. V. A Letter to a Methodist Preacher on his entrance into the Work of the Ministry, &c. VI. A Sermon entitled the Christian Prophet. Some interesting Scraps from his pen, have also appeared in the *Methodist Magazine*. A Society has been lately established in *Manchester*, of which he is supposed to be the principal, called a PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY; the members whereof are composed of none but moral characters, and those of every religious persuasion.

the Island, nor had any person invited him thither. For some time he was perplexed in reasoning on his situation, till that word of the God of Missionaries powerfully impressed his mind, "Into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, peace be to this house,—and in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give." *Luke* 10. 5—7.

On this he took courage, and proceeded to the town, which is about a mile distant from the harbour. After having walked some way into it, he took particular notice of a very poor cottage, into which he found a strong inclination to enter. He did so, with a "Peace be to this house!" and found in it an old man and woman, who, as soon as they understood his business, bade him, "welcome to the best food they had, to a little chamber where he might sleep, and, what was still more acceptable, to their house to preach in." He now saw clearly the hand of Providence in his favour, and was much encouraged. The Lord owned his labours while he staid on the Island; after this, the native Preachers, raised up in *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, visited it, and by their means a chapel has been erected, a large society formed, and many souls brought to an acquaintance with God. Since that time, a society has been formed in *Sark*, and religion flourishes in them all.\*

The Methodists had hitherto *one form* both of Worship and Discipline in every place; but an extraordinary Providence, the Independance of America, confirmed by the peace of 1783, occasioned an extraordinary change in this respect. During the war, the Societies on that Continent were deprived of the Ordinances of God, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, the Clergy of the Church of *England* having been generally

\* For a more circumstantial account, see *Benson's Apology*.

generally silenced, or having fled to *England*. From the time of the peace, the new Civil Government was universally acknowledged; but no Ecclesiastical authority of any kind was either exercised or claimed by any person or persons whatsoever. In this situation, the Societies desired Mr. *Wesley's* advice; and, as he observes, "his scruples being at an end, he conceived himself at perfect liberty to exercise that right which he doubted not God had given him."

He accordingly, soon after the Conference, ordained Dr. *Coke*,\* and through him, Mr. *Asbury*, to be joint

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*Superintendants*

\* REV. THOMAS COKE, L. L. D. well known from his indefatigable and successful labours and writings, being for some years a conspicuous character for zeal and usefulness among the Methodists, and much concerned in the events of this chapter, it may be interesting to introduce him here to the reader. Of his family and connexions, the compiler of this edition knows nothing.—It has been said by a person of great veracity, that had he continued to officiate in the Established Church only, from his influence with Lord North and others, he might with confidence have expected promotion. On the 13th of August, 1776, we find he first joined Mr. *Wesley*, who, in his eighteenth Journal, page 23, speaks thus of this incident: "Being at *Kingston*, near *Taunton*, I found a Clergyman, Dr. *Coke*, late Gentleman-commoner of *Jesus-College*, in *Oxford*, who came twenty miles on purpose. I had much conversation with him, and a union then began, which I trust shall never end." Though he relinquished his situation at this time, in the Church, in the West of *England*, joined the Methodist connexion, and was appointed to labour in *London*, his name did not appear in the Minutes till the year 1778. Since that time, he has been unremittingly and actively employed, at the request of his venerable friend, Mr. *Wesley*, who esteemed him, as the great apostle did *Timothy*, his son in the Gospel. Doctor *Coke* continued to visit the Societies in different parts, during Mr. *Wesley's* life; he has presided at Conferences in *Ireland*, when it was judged inexpedient that that man of God should cross the water; and that he has fully answered the opinion formed of him by Mr. *Wesley*, must appear obvious, even to those enemies, whose puny efforts, so strenuously engaged to tarnish his character, have but tended to strengthen the Methodist Societies and all liberal minds, in that opinion. So prepossessed are the members of the *Irish* Conference in behalf of Dr. *Coke*, that since Mr. *Wesley's* death, they

*Superintendants* over the brethren in *North America* : as also with the assistance of Dr. Coke, and the Rev. Mr. Creighton, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vasey, to act as *Elders* among them. He likewise abridged the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and advised all the Travelling Preachers to use it on the Lord's-day, in all their congregations : and the elders to administer the Lord's Supper every Sabbath, according to the same ritual.

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they have made it a constant request, that the *English* Conference, would indulge them, by granting, that their affectionate friend should preside at their annual meetings—at which he has for the most part accordingly presided ; and under God, has proved a great blessing : the following extracts from the Minutes of the *Irish* and *English* Conferences in 1805, prove the latter assertion.

“ Your readiness of mind to comply with our request, so often made, for our greatly respected friend and brother, Dr. Coke, convinces us still more, of your affection towards us. We do, therefore, with confidence, unanimously request, that he may be appointed our President the ensuing year. It will, we believe, afford you pleasure to be informed, that our love and respect for him increase every year ; so that we were ready to look upon ourselves as orphans, when contrary winds delayed his coming so long ; but we made prayer to God for him, and our gracious Lord sent him to us, (in *Dublin*,)—— the evening before our Conference began.”

“ In compliance with your request, we appoint the Rev. Dr. Coke, to be the President of the next *Irish* Conference, to be held in *Dublin*, on the first Friday in July, 1806. He has been long to us, “ a greatly beloved friend and brother ;” and we pray, that he may meet you, in all the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Peace.”

It is deserving of note, and a manifest display of a divine appointment, that when, at the non-arrival of Dr. Coke to preside at this Conference, a considerable degree of anxiety prevailed ; to the inexpressible joy of his numerous friends, just on the eve of the day appointed, he arrived in *Dublin* from *Toughall*, at which place he was put on shore from a vessel in which he sailed from *America*.

For the particulars of his labours in travelling, we refer to sundry parts of this Work, but principally to his own printed Journals ; and that his Missionary Plan is likely to be crowned with ample success, is evinced from a perusal of *Benson's* Apology, also from a small Pamphlet published by himself, consisting of copies of letters from the Missionaries, the Annual Minutes of Conference, and the Methodist Magazine.

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As this circumstance forms a new Epoch in the history of Methodism, it is necessary to consider what Mr. *Wesley* says upon the subject, also the effect it had upon the *American* brethren. In the 20th Journal, page 71, he says, "Wednesday September 1, being now clear in my own mind, I took a step which I had long weighed, and appointed three of our brethren to go and serve the desolate sheep in *America*, which I verily believe will be much to the glory of God." In the Minutes of the Conference for 1786, he says, "Judging this (the state of the Societies

It is justly observed, by the Doctor, that the Mission to the native *Irish*, is of great importance, even in a political point of view, and that to the whole Empire. If it continue to be successful, as it promises, it will effectually eradicate the seeds of confusion and rebellion, and will do more to establish subordination to lawful authority, tranquillity and peace, than the wisest laws and regulations can effect, while ignorance and vice possess the hearts and lives of the inhabitants. The salvation of men's souls, however, is principally to be considered, and who, that believes the truth of Christianity, but must rejoice at such a prospect of helping forward the design on which the Son of God came into the world, by seeking and saving so many that to all appearance were lost. At a Conference held in *Dublin*, in 1805, eight Missionaries who speak the *English* and *Irish* language fluently, were appointed to traverse the entire kingdom; and as Providence may give them access to the ungodly inhabitants, to use the privilege granted them, to the best of their judgment.

The high opinion formed of Dr. *Coke*, by the Methodist Societies in Great Britain, induced the Preachers to depute him, in conjunction with Mr. *Henry Moore*, immediately after Mr. *John Wesley's* decease, to draw up an epitome of his Life, with an account of the great revival of Religion in *Europe* and *America*, of which he was the first and chief instrument! This Work has passed through two large editions.

The *English* Conference afterward, in the year 1792, made a request, that Doctor *Coke* would compile a Commentary of the Bible, for the use of the connexion: this Work, which does honour to his head and heart, is now (in 1805,) almost accomplished, in six quarto volumes; and though a large edition has been printed, its excellency has obtained it such circulation amongst all ranks of Nobility, Clergy and Laity, as to render it probable, that a second edition will shortly be called for.

cieties in *America* after the peace) to be a case of real necessity, I took a step which for peace and quietness I had refrained from taking for many years : I exercised that power, which I am fully persuaded the Great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church has given me. I appointed three of our labourers to go and help them by not only preaching the word of God, but likewise administering the Lord's Supper and baptizing their children, throughout that vast tract of land, a thousand miles long and some hundreds broad."

The following is the letter he wrote to the *American* brethren on this subject.

*Bristol, Sept. 1784.*

" To Dr. COKE, Mr. ASBURY, and our Brethren in  
NORTH AMERICA.

" 1. BY a very uncommon train of Providences, many of the Provinces of *North-America* are totally disjoined from their Mother-Country, and erected into Independent States. The *English* Government has no authority over them either Civil or Ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of *Holland*. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the Provincial Assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any Ecclesiastical Authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these States desire my advice ; and in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little Sketch.

" 2. Lord King's account of the Primitive Church convinced me many years ago, That Bishops and Presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain.\* For many years I have been importuned from  
time

A pious Prelate deceased, remarks on this transaction, " If a *Presbyter* can ordain a *Bishop*, then the greater is blessed of the less, and the order of all things is inverted." No ; not if Mr. *Wesley's* position be true, that they are the same order. The Bishop should overthrow this position, (if he could) to have established his own.

time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our Travelling Preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace sake; but because I was determined, as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belong.

“ 3. But the case is widely different between *England* and *North-America*. Here there are Bishops who have a legal Jurisdiction. In *America* there are none, neither any Parish Minister. So that for some hundred miles together there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here therefore my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending Labourers into the Harvest.

“ 4. I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. *Francis Ashury* to be joint *Superintendants* over our Brethren in *North-America*: As also *Richard Whatcoat* and *Thomas Vasey*, to act as *Elders* among them, by baptising and administering the Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a Liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of *England*, (I think, the best constituted national Church in the world) which I advise all the Travelling Preachers to use on the Lord's Day, in all the congregations; reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the Elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's Day.

“ 5. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way, of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

“ 6. It has indeed been proposed, to desire the *English* Bishops to ordain part of the Preachers for *America*. But to this I object, 1. I desired the Bishop of *London* to ordain only one; but could not prevail: 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they



they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? 4. As our *American Brethren* are now totally disentangled both from the State, and from the *English Hierarchy*, we dare not intangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty, simply to follow the Scriptures and the Primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that Liberty, wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

JOHN WESLEY."

At the Conference held in *Baltimore* in *America*, in January 1785, the *American* brethren published to the world this letter and the effect it had on them. The effect is as follows, as published in their minutes. "Therefore, at this Conference we formed ourselves into an independent church: and following the council of Mr. *Wesley*, who recommended the Episcopal mode of church government, we thought it best to become an Episcopal church, making the Episcopal office elective, and the elected Superintendent, or Bishop, amenable to the body of Ministers and Preachers." At that time there were more than eighteen thousand members in the Societies in *America*, who willingly submitted to his advice and authority. They also observed, "As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the *English* word *Bishop* instead of *Superintendent*, it has been thought by us, that it wold appear more scriptural to adopt their term *Bishop*."

Several persons, especially some who had left the work, seemed much displeased with Mr. *Wesley* on account of his thus acting as a *Bishop*, as they termed it. But those who regarded Holy Scripture, and the Episcopacy of the Primitive Church; and considered the extraordinary call which Mr. *Wesley* now had to the

the exercise of this authority, were perfectly satisfied that he acted in the order of God. The great increase of the Societies, and of true religion among them since that time, has abundantly confirmed this sentiment. That circumstance also, the Ordination being private, which gave scope to the ill-nature of these persons, had no weight with those unprejudiced persons, who considered, that the persons ordained were Itinerants, not appointed to any particular Church, and consequently not heeding *that kind* of sanction which may be needful for Ministers who are exclusively to superintend a particular flock. But there is nothing, however scriptural or reasonable, that may not be censured by bigotry or malevolence.

March 24, 1785, Mr. Wesley observes in his Journal, "I was now considering, how strangely the grain of mustard-seed, planted about fifty years ago, had grown up. It has spread through all *Great Britain and Ireland, the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Man* : then to *America*, through the whole Continent, into *Canada* ; the *Leeward Islands*, and *Newfoundland*. And the Societies, in all these parts, walk by one rule, knowing religion is holy temper, and striving to worship God, not in form only, but likewise in *spirit* and in *truth*."

May 9, 1785, On this day that venerable and holy man, the Rev. Mr. Perronet, Vicar of *Shoreham*, entered into the joy of his Lord, in the ninety-second year of his age. Two days before his death, his grand-daughter, Miss *Briggs*, who attended him day and night, read to him the three last chapters of *Isaiah*. He then desired her to go into the garden, to take a little fresh air. Upon her return she found him in an extasy, with the tears running down his cheeks, from a deep and lively sense of the glorious things

things which she had just been reading to him ; and which he believed would shortly be fulfilled in a still more glorious sense than heretofore. He continued unspeakably happy all that day. On Sunday his happiness seemed even to increase, till he retired to rest. Miss *Briggs* then went into the room to see if any thing was wanting ; and as she stood at the feet of the bed, he smiled, and said, “ God bless thee, my dear child, and all that belong to thee ! Yea, he will bless thee ! ” This he earnestly repeated till she left the room. When she went in the next morning, his happy spirit was returned to God !

This blessed man, (like those great and good men, Messrs. *Grimshaw* and *Fletcher*,) being possessed of the *Love that envieth not, but rejoiceth in the Truth*, continued steadfastly attached to Mr. *Wesley*, and to the Methodists, from the first day unto the last. He received the Preachers joyfully, fitted up a room in the parsonage-house for preaching, and attended their ministry himself at every opportunity, evermore praising God for what he heard. His house was one of the regular places of the *Kent* Circuit, (and so continued to the day of his death,) and all his family were members of the Society. Had all the Ministers of the Established Church, or even those of them who were convinced of the truth preached by Mr. *Wesley*, and his Assistants, behaved in this truly Christian manner, Methodism, so called, *i. e.* the doctrine and practice of Evangelical Holiness, would, according to Mr. *Wesley's* hope, have leavened the Church, and even the shadow of separation from it would for ever have been prevented.

July 26, 1785. The forty-second Conference was held in *London*. Mr. *Wesley* remarks concerning it, “ About seventy Preachers were present, whom I had  
invited

invited by name. One consequence of this was, that we had no contention or altercation at all, but every thing proposed was calmly considered, and determined as we judged would be most for the glory of God."

"Having, (he continues) with a few select friends, weighed the matter thoroughly, I yielded to their judgment, and set apart three of our well tried Preachers, *John Pawson*, *Thomas Hanby*, and *Joseph Taylor*, to minister in *Scotland*. And I trust God will bless their ministrations, and shew that he has sent them." He also recommended to the *Scotch* Methodists, the use of the abridged Common Prayer. This latter they declined; the former they were thankful for. The reasons he gave for this (in the Minutes of the Conference in 1786) are, 1. That he never was connected with the Church of *Scotland*. 2. The desire of doing more good. 3. The absolute necessity of the case, as the *Scotch Ministers* had repeatedly refused to give the Methodists the Sacrament, unless they would leave the Societies.

The *American Minutes* were published with those of the *English Conference*, and continued to be so, with a few exceptions, till the year 1790. It was then thought unnecessary to publish any thing more than the numbers in the Societies, which is still done every year.

The *British dominions* \* in *America*, viz. *Nova Scotia*, *New Brunswick*, and *Newfoundland*, appeared for the first time on the Minutes of this year.

July

\* Methodism had its rise in these Parts in the following manner.

In the year 1765, Mr. *Lawrence Coughlan*, at that time a Travelling Preacher, in connexion with Mr. *Wesley*, was ordained by the Bishop of *London*, at the request of the Society for the propagation of Christian Knowledge,

July 25, 1786, The forty-third Conference was held in *Bristol*. The question respecting a union with the Church was still agitated; and after much deliberation the following regulations were adopted.

2. In what cases do we allow of service in Church hours?

A. 1. When the Minister is a notoriously wicked man. 2. When he preaches Arian, or any other equally pernicious doctrine. 3. When there are no Churches in the town sufficient to contain half the people. And, 4. When there is no Church at all within two or three miles. And we advise every one who preaches in the church hours to read the psalms and lessons with part of the church prayers; because we apprehend this will endear the church service to our brethren, who probably would be prejudiced against it, if they heard none but extemporary prayer. Mr. *Wesley* accordingly recommended to his Societies the abridged Common Prayer Book, under the following title, "The Sunday Service of the *Methodists*." He certainly approved of a Liturgy, or Form of Prayer, for public worship, as many enlightened men

Knowledge, that he might be qualified for the office of a Missionary in the island of *Newfoundland*. He accordingly went there, and his labours were crowned with success in several parts of the Island. After seven years' continuance there, he returned home through want of health. The people were then as sheep that had no shepherd. After a time the Lord raised up a few of the inhabitants, who had been Methodists in these kingdoms. They formed Societies, and exhorted the people to walk according to the Methodist rules. To encourage them, three Travelling Preachers were sent thither, two from the *United States*, and one from *England*. *Newfoundland* has continued on the Minutes since that time, unless perhaps when their accounts could not come time enough for insertion.

In the year 1791, a favourable change took place in their behalf. Mr. *William Black*, (who was born at *Huddersfield*, in *Yorkshire*, in the year 1760,) visited *Nova Scotia*. His labours were attended with great success. In the year 1792, he was appointed Superintendant of the whole work in *British America*; which office he has held ever since. He has been instrumental in uniting the scattered members, restoring discipline, and by the united labours of himself and his brethren, the kingdom of God has been greatly enlarged in these parts.

men have done ; but in many parts the people did not approve of it, even where they wished to be allowed service in the church hours.

The cases before mentioned, in which the service might be allowed, are certainly weighty, and plainly shew, that Mr. *Wesley* was of opinion, that some kind of separation might, in particular cases be a duty. But he truly loved the *Church itself*, and from it he would not separate.

The following is the Preface which he prefixed to the Prayer Book.

“ I believe there is no Liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety than the Common Prayer of the Church of England. And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.

“ Little alteration is made in the following edition of it, except in the following instances : 1. Most of the holy-days (so called) are omitted, as at present answering no valuable end. 2. The service of the Lord's Day, the length of which has been so often complained of, is considerably shortened. 3. Sentences in the offices of Baptism, and for the Burial of the Dead, are omitted. And, 4. Many Psalms left out, and many parts of the others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian Congregation.

JOHN WESLEY.”

At this time Mr. *Wesley* appointed Dr. *Coke* to visit the Societies in the *British* dominions in *America*. He also sent *William Warren*, whom he appointed to labour as a Missionary in *Antigua*, and *William Hammett* and *John Clarke*, to labour as Missionaries in *Newfoundland*. With these the Doctor sailed. By distress of weather they were prevented from going to the place of their destination ; so they all landed on  
Christmas-

Christmas-day, 1786, on the Island of *Antigua*.\* Here they found a large Methodist Society walking in the fear of God, who welcomed them in the name of the Lord.

Dr. *Coke* considered his being driven to the *West-Indies* as providential. He therefore left the two Missionaries intended for *America*, to labour in these islands with Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Warrener*, where there was the greatest prospect of doing good. These were the first Missionaries from the *English* Conference to the *West-India* Islands. Since that time the work has greatly increased in these islands. There are now Missionaries in *Antigua*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent's*, *Barbadoes*, *Grenada*, *St. Christopher's*, *Nexis*, and *Montserrat*; in *Tortola*, *Spanish Town*, and the other *Virgin Islands*; in *St. Bartholomew's*, *Jamaica*, *Providence*, and the other *Bahama Islands*; and at *Bermuda*. There is a prospect of doing much good in all these places. So greatly has the Lord prospered his work in sixteen years!

November 3, 1787, Mr. *Wesley* observes in his last Journal, (page 85.) "I had a long conversation with Mr. *Clulow*, (an attorney) on the execrable Act, called the Conventicle Act. After consulting the † Act of Toleration,

\* The following particulars shew the rise of Methodism in this Island. *Nathaniel Gilbert*, Esq. Speaker of the House of Assembly in *Antigua*, who had heard the Gospel in *England*, wrote a letter to Mr. *Wesley*, dated May 30, 1760, in which he informed him there was then the dawn of a Gospel day in that Island. Mr. *Gilbert* had begun to exhort the Islanders to turn to the Lord, and had considerable success.

In 1779, Mr. *John Baxter*, a Local Preacher, went from the Royal Dock at *Chatham* to that Island. He watered the seed sown by Mr. *Gilbert*. He afterwards resigned his office, which he held under Government, in order to preach the Gospel to the poor slaves.

† It may be useful to subjoin here, extracts from those Acts above mentioned, with others of a later date, relative to this subject.

The

Toleration, with that of the tenth of *Queen Anne*, we were both clearly convinced, that it was the safest way to license all our Chapels, and all our travelling Preachers; and that no justice, or bench of justices, has any authority to refuse licensing either the Houses or the Preachers." He was not willing that either should be licensed before this time, as he greatly wished to continue his connexion with the National Church, so far as the blessed work of *saving souls from death* in every place would permit.

Mr.

The Act of Toleration, made in the first year of King William and Queen Mary, which was declared a public Act, by the 19th of King *George* the Third.

By this, "It is enacted, that none of the penal Statutes made against Conventicles, or against papists or popish recusants (except the 25th of *Charles* the Second, concerning the qualifying for offices, and the 30th of *Charles* the Second, containing the declaration against popery) shall extend to any person dissenting from the Church of *England*."—Nor to

"Any person dissenting from the Church of *England*, who shall at the General Sessions of the Peace to be held for the county or place where such person shall live, take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and subscribe the said Declaration against Popery, of which the Court shall keep a Register; and no officer shall take any fee above 6d. for registering the same, and 6d. for a certificate thereof, signed by such Officer."

"Provided the place of meeting be certified to the Bishop of the Diocese, or to the Arch Deacon of the Archdeaconry, or to the Justices of the Peace at the General Quarter Session. And the register or clerk of the peace shall register and record the same, for which no greater fee shall be taken than 6d. And provided that during the time of meeting the doors shall not be locked, barred, or bolted."

"And by the Statute made in the 10th of *Queen Anne*, any Preacher or Teacher, duly qualified, shall be allowed to officiate in any congregation, although the same be not in the county where he was so qualified, provided that the place of meeting hath been duly certified and registered; and such Teacher or Preacher shall, if required, produce his certificate of his having so qualified himself, under the hand of the clerk of the peace where he was qualified; and shall also, before any justice of such county where he shall so officiate, make and subscribe such declaration and take such oaths as aforesaid, if required."

"And



Mr. *Wesley* had hitherto ordained Ministers only for *America* and *Scotland*, but from this period, being assisted by the Rev. *James Creighton*, and the Rev. *Peard Dickenson*, Presbyters of the Church of *England*, he set apart for the sacred office, by the imposition of his hands and prayer, Messrs. *Alexander Mather*, *Thomas Rankin*, and *Henry Moore*, without sending them out of *England*; strongly advising them at the same time, that according to his example they should

"And every such Teacher and Preacher, having taken the oaths, and subscribed as aforesaid, shall from thenceforth be exempted from serving in the Militia of this kingdom, and from serving on any Jury, or of being appointed to bear the office of church-warden, overseer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, or other office in any hundred, city, town, parish, division, or wapintake.

"And by the Act made in the 19th year of George the Third, 1779, Dissenting Ministers were excused from signing to a part of the Thirty-nine Articles, when they were licensed." For until that time they had to subscribe the whole of the Articles of the Established Church, except three and part of another. All that they now do, is, subscribe to the following Declaration.

"I, *A. B.* do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am a Christian and a Protestant, and as such that I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as commonly received among Protestant Churches, do contain the revealed will of God, and that I do receive the same as the rule of my doctrine and practice."

In order to get a place licensed, all that it requires is, that the place or building shall be *certified*, i. e. that notice shall be given of the intention to perform divine service therein, either to the Bishop of the Diocese, or to the Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry, or to the Justice of the Peace of the Quarter Sessions for the county, city, or place in which it is situated, that it may be registered in the Court to which application is made. A proper and sufficient form for this purpose is as follows:

"We whose names are underwritten, [*any two or three of the parties concerned*] do hereby certify, that a certain building situate, \_\_\_\_\_ in \_\_\_\_\_, is intended to be used for religious worship, under and by virtue of the statute of the first of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, entitled, An Act for exempting their Majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of *England* from the penalties of certain laws."

Signed

A. B.  
C. D.

should continue united to the Established Church, so far as the blessed work in which they were engaged would permit. The former of these brethren, Mr. *Mather*, he ordained a Bishop or Superintendant.

The following letter, written to a Preacher about this time, may shew us Mr. *Wesley's* fatherly care over the Preachers; and at the same time give us an example of his delicate manner of conveying reproof where he saw it necessary. This delicacy will appear the more honourable to him, when we consider, that he was in the eighty-fourth year of his age: a period when those who arrive at it, commonly lose the delicate attention to the feelings of others, which they possessed in middle life; and become authoritative and morose. This indeed is very natural, and arises, perhaps, from the difference of their situations. A man of eighty-four, often finds, that he is considered as a piece of old worn-out furniture, thrown by as useless, and feels his own personal happiness very little connected with the opinions or affairs of mankind: whereas, a man in the midst of life finds, that the delicate attention he pays to the feelings of others, is daily reflected back upon him in a thousand ways, and contributes largely to an increase of his personal happiness. Mr. *Wesley* did not labour under this infirmity of old age.

“ Dear ———, (says he) you know I love you: ever since I knew you, I have neglected no way of shewing it, that was in my power. And you know I esteem you for your zeal and activity, for your love of discipline, and for your gifts which God has given you: particularly, quickness of apprehension, and readiness of utterance, especially in preaching and prayer.

“ Therefore I am jealous over you, lest you should lose any of the things you have gained, and not receive a full reward: and the more so, because I fear you are wanting

in other respects. \ And who will venture to tell you so? You will scarce know how to bear it from me, unless you lift up your heart to God—If you do this, I may venture to tell you what I fear, without any further preface. I fear you think of yourself more highly than you ought to think. Do you not think too highly of your own understanding? of your gifts? particularly in preaching? as if you were the very best Preacher in the connexion? of your own importance? as if the work of God here or there, depended wholly or mainly on you? and of your popularity? which I have found to my surprise far less even in ———, than I expected.

“ May not this be much owing to your want of brotherly-love? With what measure you mete, men will measure to you again. I fear there is something unloving in your spirit: something not only of roughness, but of harshness, yea of sourness! Are you not likewise extremely open to prejudice, and not easy to be cured of it? So that whenever you are prejudiced, you commence bitter, implacable, unmerciful? If so, that people are prejudiced against you, is both the natural and judicial consequence.

“ I am afraid lest your want of love to your neighbours, should spring from your want of love to God: from want of thankfulness. I have sometimes heard you speak, in a manner that made me tremble: indeed, in terms that not only a weak *Christian*, but even a serious *Deist* would scruple to use.

“ I fear, you greatly want evenness of temper. Are you not generally too high, or too low? Are not all your passions too lively? your anger, in particular? Is it not too soon raised: and is it not often too impetuous? causing you to be violent, boisterous—bearing down all before you?

“ Now—lift up your heart to God, or you will be angry at me. But I must go a little further. I fear you are greatly wanting in the government of your tongue. You are not exact in relating facts. I have observed it myself. You are apt to amplify: to enlarge a little beyond the truth. You cannot imagine, if others observe this, how it will affect your reputation.

“ But

" But I fear you are more wanting in another respect. That you give a loose to your tongue when you are angry : that your language then, is not only sharp, but coarse, and ill-bred—If this be so, the people will not bear it. They will not take it either from *you* or *me*." &c.

Mr. *Wesley*, notwithstanding his advanced age, continued his journies and labours with the same punctuality, though not perhaps with the same vigour as usual. He still rose at four in the morning, and apportioned his employments to the different parts of the day. It was a fixed practical rule with him, which he observed to the very end of life, that a man who wishes to avoid temptation, and all foolish and hurtful habits, should be constantly employed ; and *generally*, have a certain portion of work to do within a limited time. This, doubtless, is a good practical rule, and will save those whose time is at their own disposal, if they have resolution to follow it, from innumerable inconveniences.—In 1787, he visited *Ireland* : and passing through the North of that kingdom, called upon a respectable Clergyman, whose kind attentions in his sickness at *Tandragee* had laid him under obligations. After he had quitted this agreeable family, he sent the Clergyman the following letter.

" REV. AND DEAR SIR,

" I have obligations to you on many accounts, from the time I first saw you : particularly for the kind concern you shewed, when I was ill at *Tandragee*. These have increased upon me every time that I have since had the pleasure of waiting upon you. Permit me, Sir, to speak without reserve. Esteem was added to my affectionate regard, when I saw the uncommon pains you took with the flock committed to your care ; as also, when I observed the remarkably serious manner wherein you read prayers in your family. Many years have passed since that time ; many more than I am likely to see under the sun. But before I go hence, I would

fain give you one instance of my sincere regard : the rather, because I can scarce expect to see you again till we meet in a better world. But it is difficult for me to do it, as I feel myself inferior to you in so many respects. Yet permit me to ask a strange question, Is your soul as much alive to God as it was once ? Have you not suffered loss from your relations or acquaintance, that are sensible and agreeable men, but not incumbered with religion ? Some of them, perhaps, as free from the very form, as from the power of it. O Sir, if you lose any of *the things which you have wrought*, who can make you amends for that loss ? If you do not receive a full reward, what equivalent can you gain ? I was pained, even at your hospitable table, in the midst of those I loved so well. We did not *begin* and *close* the meal, in the same manner you did ten years ago ! You was then, contrary to almost universal custom, unfashionably serious in asking a blessing and returning thanks. I know many would blame you for it : but surely the Lord said, ‘ Servant of God, well done !’ Wishing you, and your lovely family every blessing,

I am,

Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your obliged and affectionate Brother and Servant,

J. W.”

In February 1788, Mr. *Wesley* observes, “ I took a solemn leave of the congregation at *West-street*, by applying once more what I had enforced fifty years before, *By grace ye are saved through faith*—The next evening we had a very numerous congregation at the New Chapel, to whom I declared the whole counsel of God. I seemed now to have finished my work in *London*. If I see it again, well : if not, I pray God to raise up others, that will be more faithful and more successful in his work.”

On his birth-day this year, he makes the following observations, “ I this day enter on my eighty-fifth year. And what cause have I to praise God, as for  
a thou-

a thousand spiritual blessings, so for ~~for~~ bodily blessings also? How little have I suffered yet, by the rush of numerous years! It is true, I am not so *agile* as I was in times past: I do not run or walk so fast as I did. My *sight* is a little decayed. My left eye is grown dim, and hardly serves me to read. I have daily some pain in the ball of my right eye, as also in my right temple (occasioned by a blow received some time since) and in my right shoulder and arm, which I impute partly to a sprain, and partly to the *rheumatism*. I find likewise some decay in my memory, with regard to names and things lately past: but not at all with regard to what I have read or heard, twenty, forty, or sixty years ago. Neither do I find any decay in my hearing, smell, taste, or appetite (though I want but a third part of the food I once did) nor do I feel any such thing as weariness, either in travelling or preaching. And I am *not conscious* of any decay in writing sermons, which I do as readily, and *I believe*, as correctly as ever.

“ To what cause can I impute this, that I am as I am? First, doubtless, to the power of God, fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein: and next, subordinately to this, to the prayers of his children—May we not impute it, as inferior means, 1. To my constant exercise and change of air? 2. To my never having lost a night’s sleep, sick or well, at land or sea, since I was born? 3. To my having sleep at command, so that whenever I feel myself almost worn out, I call it, and it comes day or night? 4. To my having constantly, for above sixty years, risen at four in the morning? 5. To my constant preaching at five in the morning, for above fifty years? 6. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little  
sorrow

sorrow or anxious care?—Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye, temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time.

“ Whether or not this is sent to give me warning, that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle, I do not know : but be it one way or the other, I have only to say,

‘ My remnant of days  
I spend to his praise,  
Who died the whole to redeem :  
Be they many or few,  
My days are his due,  
And they all are devoted to him !”

May 13, 1788, Mr. *Wesley*, taking a review of the work in which he had spent his life, thus remarks especially on its scriptural liberality.

“ There is no other Religious Society under heaven, which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it, but a *desire to save their souls*. Look all around you, you cannot be admitted into the Church or Society of the *Presbyterians*, *Baptists*, *Quakers*, or any other, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The *Methodists* alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion, but they *think* and *let think*. Neither do they impose any particular mode of worship, but you may continue to worship in your former manner, be it what it may. Now I do not know any other religious Society either ancient or modern, wherein such liberty of conscience is now allowed, or has been allowed since the age of the apostles ! Here is our glorying, and a glorying peculiar to us ! What Society shares it with us ?” Blessed be God we still enjoy this liberty ; and even with encrease !

July 29, The forty-fifth Conference was held in *London*. Mr. *Wesley's* account of it is,

“ One

“ One of the most important points considered at this Conference was, that respecting the Church. The sum of a long conversation was, 1. That in a course of fifty years, we had neither premeditatedly nor willingly varied from it in one article, either of doctrine or discipline. 2. That we were not yet conscious of varying from it in any point of *doctrine*. 3. That we have in a course of years, out of necessity, not choice, slowly and warily varied in some points of *discipline* by preaching in the fields, by extemporary prayer, by employing Lay-Precachers, by forming and regulating Societies, and by holding yearly Conferences. But we did none of these things till we were convinced we could no longer omit them, but at the peril of our souls.”

It is evident from this account that with regard to *discipline*, Mr. *Wesley* followed the Scripture and the openings of Providence.

The following new rule was made at Conference.

2. Many of our Preachers have been obliged to go from the house of one friend to another for all their meals, to the great loss of their time and to the injury of the work of God. What can be done to prevent this evil in future?—*A.* Let every Circuit provide a sufficient allowance for the Preachers, that they may in general eat their meals at their own lodgings.

Mr. *Wesley* for the first time published the following letter, addressed to his Societies from the Conference.

“ *To our Societies in England and Ireland.*

“ Fifty years ago, and for several years following, all our Preachers were single men; when in process of time a few of them married, those with whom they laboured, maintained both them and their wives, there being then no settled allowance either for the one or the other. But above thirty years ago, it was found most convenient to fix a stated allowance for both, and this was found by the Circuits where they were stationed;

till



till one year ~~some~~ of the Circuits complained of poverty. Dr. Coke and I supplied what was wanting. The next year the number of wives increasing, three or four of them were supplied out of the Contingent Fund. This was a bad precedent, for more and more wives were thrown upon this Fund, till it was likely to be swallowed up thereby. We could think of no way to prevent this, but to consider the state of our Societies in *England* and *Ireland*, and to beg the members of each Circuit to give us that assistance, which they can easily do without hurting their families.

“ Within these fifty years, the substance of the Methodists is increased in proportion to their numbers. Therefore if you are not straitened in your own bowels, this will be no grievance, but you will cheerfully give food and raiment to those, who give up all their time and strength and labour to your service.

*London, Aug. 2, 1788.*

JOHN WESLEY.”

The same address was published in the *Irish Minutes* the year following in the very same words, which shews that Mr. *Wesley* did not confine himself to exactness as to the dates; but states the facts. The first time alluded to was in the year 1740, just forty-eight years before; the second was in the year 1752, just thirty-six years before.

December 31, 1788, Mr. *Wesley* makes the following remarks. “ A numerous company concluded the old year with a very solemn watch-night. Hitherto God hath helped us: and we neither see nor feel any of those terrible judgments, which it was said, God would pour out upon the nation, about the conclusion of the year—for near seventy years I have observed, that before any war or public calamity, *England* abounds with prophets, who confidently foretel many terrible things. They generally believe themselves; but are carried away with a vain imagination. And they are seldom undeceived even by the failure of their predictions,

predictions, but still believe they will be fulfilled some time or other."

January 1, 1789, He says, "If this is to be the last year of my life, according to some of those prophecies, I hope it will be the best. I am not careful about it, but heartily receive the advice of the Angel in *Milton*, 'How well is thine; how long permit to Heav'n.'"

Notwithstanding his advanced age, and increasing infirmities, Mr. *Wesley* this year visited *Ireland*; and travelled through various parts of the kingdom, preaching and meeting the societies as usual.\*

The

\* It is a pleasing feature of the present day, that the spirit of toleration and candour appears of late more diffused, and persecution discountenanced, though not utterly discontinued. During the first struggles of Methodism in *Ireland*, many harsh and severe measures were resorted to; and not a few of both wicked and prejudiced magistrates were found to exceed their powers by their attempts to crush this sect! Of this the following letter written by Mr. *Trembath* to Mr. *Wesley*, in the year 1748, is a specimen. At this period the *Methodist Society* in *Dublin* suffered great persecution, as appears by this letter. "I believe this persecution was permitted for good, that we might not trust in an arm of flesh. We thought the Magistrates would do us justice; but in this we were disappointed. It likewise drives us all to prayer and watchfulness, and also causes us to love each other better than ever; so that we are like sheep driven by the wolf into the fold. When we went out, we carried our lives in our hands; but all this did not hinder us once from meeting together at the usual hours. The Society still increased, and those who had the root in themselves stood like marble pillars; and, by the grace of God, were resolved rather to die with Christ, than to deny him. All the city was in an uproar: some said, 'It is a shame; the men do no harm.' Others said, 'The dogs deserve all to be hanged.' Blessed be God, we walk unhurt in fire! Now we can literally say, we live by faith; and the less we have of human help, the more we shall have of divine."

Some time after, a zealous mob, who for some time had greatly incommoded those who attended at the Preaching-house in *Marlborough-street*, made an attack in form. They abused the Preacher and the congregation in a very gross manner. They then pulled down the pulpit, and carrying it with the benches, into the street, made a large fire of them, round which they shouted for several hours.

But

The following paper is without date ; and though I suppose it was written a few years before this period, yet I shall here insert it, omitting an observation or two on the *Hutchinsonian* Philosophy.

To

But in *Cork* the violence of their persecutors was still greater. For more than three months, a riotous mob, headed by a ballad-singer, whose name was *Butler*, had declared open war against these new reformers, and all who attended their preaching. To give a detail of their violence would be almost too shocking to human nature. They fell upon men and women, old and young, with clubs and swords, and beat and wounded them in a dreadful manner. But they were not content with thus abusing the people when attending the preaching. They surrounded their houses, wounded their customers, broke their windows, and threatened to pull their houses down, unless they would engage to *leave this way!* The common epithets used on these occasions by *Butler* and his party, were *heretic dogs*, and *heretic b——s* : and several even of the magistrates rather encouraged, than strove to prevent those disorders.

A Mr. *Jones*, a considerable merchant, who was a member of the Society, applied to the mayor, but could obtain no redress. The house of a Mr. *Sullivan* being beset, and the mob beginning to pull it down, he applied to the mayor, who after much importunity came with him to the spot. When they were in the midst of the mob, the mayor said aloud, 'It is your own fault for entertaining those Preachers : if you will turn them out of your house, I will engage there shall be no harm done ; but if you will not turn them out, you must take what you get.' On this the mob set up a huzza, and threw stones faster than before. Mr. *Sullivan* exclaimed, 'This is fine usage under a Protestant Government. If I had a priest saying mass in every room of it, my house would not be touched.' The mayor replied, 'The priests are tolerated ; but you are not. You talk too much : go in, and shut up your doors.' Seeing no remedy, he did so ; and the mob continued throwing stones into the house, till near twelve at night. A poor woman having expressed some concern at seeing *Butler* with his ballads in one hand and a Bible in the other, out of which he preached in his way, Mr. Sheriff *Reily* ordered his bailiff to carry her to *Bridewell*, where she was confined for two days !

After this, it was not, for those who had any regard either to their persons or goods, to oppose Mr. *Butler*. So the poor people patiently suffered whatever he or his mob thought proper to inflict upon them, till the assizes drew on, at which time they doubted not to find a sufficient though late relief.

Accordingly on August 19, 1749, twenty-eight depositions (from which the above facts are taken) were laid before the Grand Jury. But they did not

“ TO THE REVEREND DEAN D——.

“ REV. SIR,

“ When Dr. *Bentley* published his *Greek Testament*, one remarked, ‘ Pity but he would publish the Old : then we should have two *New Testaments*.’ It is done : those who

not find any one of these bills. Instead of this, they made that memorable presentment, which is worthy to be preserved in their records to all succeeding generations.

“ *We find and present Charles Wesley, to be a person of ill fame, a vagabond, and a common disturber of his Majesty’s peace, and we pray that he may be transported.*’

The following persons were also presented in like manner, *Thomas Williams, Robert Swindells, Jonathan Reeves, James Wheatley, John Lurwood, Joseph M<sup>r</sup> Auliff, Charles Skelton, William Tocker, and Daniel Sullivan.*

*Butler* and his mob were now in higher spirits than ever. They scoured the streets, day and night ; frequently hallowing as they went along, ‘ Five pounds for a Swaddler’s head :’ (a name first given to Mr. *Cennick*, from his preaching on those words, *Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lying in a manger*.) Their chief declaring to them all, he had full liberty now to do whatever he would.

In consequence of the shameful refusal of justice above-mentioned, the rioters continued the same outrages during the greater part of the following winter. At the Lent assizes, the Preachers (who made up the whole number then travelling in the kingdom, or at least as many of them as had ever been in *Cork* or its neighbourhood) assembled at the house of Mr. *Jones*, and went from thence in a body to the Court, accompanied by Mr. *Jones* and other reputable inhabitants. His Majesty’s judge behaved as became him. He inquired where were the persons presented. On their being pointed out to him, he seemed for some time visibly agitated, and unable to proceed. He at length called for the evidence, on which *Butler* appeared. On his saying, in answer to the first question, that he was a ballad-singer, the judge desired him to withdraw, observing, that it was a pity that he had not been presented. No other person appearing, he turned to the Preachers, and said, “ Gentlemen, there is no evidence against you : you may retire : I am sorry that you have been treated so very improperly. I hope the police of this city will be better attended to for the time to come.”

Persecution has almost wholly subsided ; and those who were formerly despised and hated, are now respected by their christian brethren. Their numbers also have given them consequence in the national scale. Every government must perceive, that those citizens are most valuable, whose obedience and peaceableness are strengthened by religious privileges.

receive Mr. *Hutchinson's* emendations, certainly have two New Testaments! But I stumble at the threshold. Can we believe, that God left his whole Church so ignorant of the Scriptures till yesterday? And if He was pleased to reveal the sense of it now, to whom may we suppose He would reveal it? 'All Scripture, (says *Kempis*) must be understood by the same Spirit whereby it was written.' And a greater than he says, 'Them that are meek will He guide in judgment, and them that are gentle will He learn his ways.' But was Mr. *H*——— eminently meek and gentle?

"However, in order to learn all I could from his works, after first consulting them, I carefully read over Mr. *Speelman*, Mr. *Jones's* ingenious book, and the *Glasgow* Abridgment. I read the last with Mr. *Thomas Walsh*,\* the best *Hebraean* I ever knew. I never asked him the meaning of an *Hebrew* word, but he would immediately tell me, how often it occurred in the Bible, and what it meant in each place! We then both observed, that Mr. *Hutchinson's* whole scheme is built upon Etymologies: the most uncertain foundation in the world, and the least to be depended upon: we observed secondly, that if the Points be allowed, all his building sinks at once: and thirdly, that setting them aside, many of his Etymologies are forced, and unnatural. He frequently, to find the Etymology of one word, squeezes two *Radices* together: a liberty never to be taken, where a word may fairly be derived from a single *Radix*.

"But may I hazard a few words on the points? Mr. *H*——— affirms, they were invented by the *Masorites*,† only

\* A Lay-Precacher and an Itinerant.

† *Masora*, is a term in the *Jewish* theology, signifying a work on the Bible; performed by several learned *Rabbins*, to secure it from any alterations which might otherwise happen.

According to *Elias Levita*, the authors of the *Masora*, were the *Jews* of a famous school at *Tiberias*, about five hundred years after Christ, who composed, or at least began the *Masora*; whence they are called *Masorites* and *Masoretic Doctors*. *Aben Ezra*, makes them the authors of the accents and points which serve for vowels in the *Hebrew* text, as we now find it.

only thirteen or fourteen hundred years ago, in order to destroy the sense of Scripture. I doubt this; who can prove it? Who can prove they were not as old as *Ezra*; if not co-eval with the language? Let any one give a fair reading, only to what Dr. *Cornelius Bayley* has offered, in the Preface to his *Hebrew Grammar*, and he will be as sick of reading without points, as I am; at least, till he can answer the Doctor's arguments, he will not be so positive upon the question.

"As to his Theology, I first stumble at his profuse encomiums on the *Hebrew* language. But is it not the language which God himself used? And is not *Greek* too, the language which God himself used? And did He not use it in delivering to man a far more perfect Dispensation than that He delivered in *Hebrew*? Who can deny it? And does not even this consideration give us reason at least to suspect, that the *Greek* language is as far superior to the *Hebrew*, as the New Testament is to the Old? And indeed, if we set prejudice aside, and consider both, with attention and candour, can we help seeing, that the *Greek* excels the *Hebrew*, as much in beauty and strength, as it does in copiousness? I suppose no one from the beginning of the world wrote better *Hebrew* than *Moses*. But does not the language of St. *Paul* excel the language of *Moses*, as much as the knowledge of St. *Paul* excelled his.

"I speak this, even on supposition that you read the *Hebrew*, as I believe *Ezra*, if not *Moses* did, with points. For if we read it in the modern way without points, I appeal to every competent judge, whether it be not the most equivocal."

About this time, one or two of the Preachers, and a few societies, were harassed by Justices of the Peace, under a pretence entirely new. The Methodists were told, "You profess yourselves members of the Church of *England*; therefore your licences are good for nothing; nor can you as members of the Church receive any benefit from the Act of *Toleration*." Mr.

*Wesley*

*Wesley* saw, that if the proceedings on this subtle distinction were extended over the nation, the Methodists must either profess themselves Dissenters, or suffer infinite trouble. Notwithstanding his ordinations, he has borne ample testimony, that he did not wish the people to alter their relative situation to the national Church, &c. and yet he wished them to be effectually relieved from this embarrassment. He stated the case to a member of Parliament, a real friend to liberty, hoping the Legislature might be prevailed upon to interpose, and free the Methodists from the penalties of the Conventicle Act. There is not much reason to doubt but this privilege would have been obtained, by a little perseverance : but the peaceable demeanour and loyalty of the Methodists, together with the manifest good resulting to both Church and State from their labours have obtained that great body the full use of their religious privileges throughout the *British* Dominions. *Mr. Wesley* states the case thus :

“ Last month a few poor people met together in *Lincolnshire*, to pray, and to praise God, in a friend's house : there was no preaching at all. Two neighbouring Justices, fined the man of the house twenty pounds. I suppose he was not worth twenty shillings—Upon this, his household goods were distrained and sold to pay the fine. He appealed to the Quarter-Sessions : but all the Justices averred, ‘The Methodists could have no relief from the Act of *Toleration*,\* because they went to Church ; and that, so long as they did so, the *Conventicle* Act should be executed upon them.’

“ Last Sunday, when one of our Preachers was beginning to speak to a quiet congregation, a neighbouring Justice sent a Constable to seize him, though he was licensed : and would not

\* For Extracts of those Acts, see Note in pages 414,—416 of this volume.

not release him till he had paid twenty pounds—telling him, his licence was good for nothing, ‘Because he was a Church-man.’

“Now Sir, what can the *Methodists* do? They are liable to be ruined by the *Conventicle* Act, and they have no relief from the Act of *Toleration*! If this is not oppression, what is? Where then is *English* liberty? The liberty of *Christians*, yea of every rational creature? who as such, has a right to worship God according to his own conscience, But waving the question of right and wrong, what prudence is there in oppressing such a body of loyal subjects? If these good Magistrates could drive them, not only out of *Somersetshire*, but out of *England*, who would be gainers thereby? Not his Majesty, whom we honour and love: not his Ministers, whom we love and serve for his sake. Do they wish to throw away so many thousand friends? who are now bound to them by stronger ties than that of interest—If you will speak a word to Mr. *Pitt* on that head, you will oblige,” &c.

The paper from which the above is taken, is only a copy: and we have some doubt, whether *Somersetshire* be not inserted for *Lincolnshire* before mentioned in the same paper. However this may be, Mr. *Wesley* wrote to the Bishop of ——— the following letter a few months before the above was written.

“MY LORD,

“I am a dying man, having already one foot in the grave. Humanly speaking, I cannot long creep upon the earth, being now nearer ninety than eighty years of age. But I cannot die in peace, before I have discharged this office of *Christian* love to your Lordship. I write without ceremony, as neither hoping nor fearing any thing from your Lordship, or from any man living. And I ask, in the name and in the presence of him, to whom both you and I are shortly to give an account, why do you trouble those that are quiet in the land? Those that fear God and work  
righte.



righteousness? Does your Lordship know what the *Methodists* are? That many thousands of them are zealous members of the Church of *England*? and strongly attached, not only to his Majesty, but to his present Ministry? Why should your Lordship, setting religion out of the question, throw away such a body of respectable friends? Is it for their religious sentiments? Alas my Lord, is this a time to persecute any man for conscience-sake? I beseech you, my Lord, do as you would be done to. You are a man of sense: you are a man of learning: nay, I verily believe (what is of infinitely more value) you are a man of piety. Then think, and let think—I pray God to bless you with the choicest of his blessings—

I am, my Lord," &c.

To another Bishop, who, we suppose, had forbidden his Clergy to let Mr. *Wesley* preach in their Churches, he wrote in his own *laconic* way as follows:

"MY LORD,

"Several years ago, the Church-Warden of *St. Bartholomew's* informed Dr. *Gibson*, then Lord bishop of *London*, 'My Lord, Mr. *Bateman*, our Rector, invites Mr. *Wesley* very frequently to preach in his Church.' The Bishop replied, 'And what would you have me do? I have no right to hinder him. Mr. *Wesley* is a Clergyman regularly ordained, and under no Ecclesiastical Censure.'

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

Mr. *Wesley* began now to feel the infirmities of age increase fast upon him, though he continued his usual labours without complaint. But in 1790, he observes, "I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim: my right hand shakes much: my mouth is hot and dry every morning: I have a lingering

ing fever almost every day : and my motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labour. I can preach and write still." And on June 28, his birth-day, he further observes, " This day I enter into my eighty-eighth year. For above eighty-six years, I found none of the infirmities of old age ; my eyes did not wax dim, neither was my natural strength abated. But last August, I found almost a sudden change ; my eyes were so dim, that no glasses would help me : my strength likewise quite forsook me, and probably will not return in this world. But I feel no pain from head to foot, only it seems nature is exhausted, and humanly speaking, will sink more and more, till,

" The weary springs of life stand still at last."

This, at length, was literally the case ; the death of Mr. *Wesley*, like that of his brother *Charles*, being one of those rare instances in which nature, drooping under the load of years, sinks by a gentle decay. For several years preceding his death, this decay was, perhaps, more visible to others than to himself ; particularly by a more frequent disposition to sleep during the day ; by a growing defect in memory, a faculty he once possessed in a high degree of perfection ; and by a general diminution of the vigour and agility he had so long enjoyed. His labours, however, suffered little interruption : and when the summons came, it found him, as he always wished it should, in the harness, still occupied in his Master's work !

July 1790, The forty-seventh Conference was held in *Bristol*. This was the last at which Mr. *Wesley* was present. From the Minutes it appears he appointed nine Preachers as " a Committee for the management of the West India affairs," *i. e.* the

Missions ; and six Preachers to be a Building Committee for *Great-Britain*, and four for *Ireland*. It would appear by this that he wished to see the different labours of the Conference divided into separate Committees, which would undoubtedly save a great deal of time, and give scope to the talents of many more of the Preachers than can be at present employed in the business that comes before them.

The general Minutes from 1744 to 1789, were at this time published. From them we learn the manner in which the Preachers proceed to business at Conference. It is thus detailed :

*Question.* What is the method wherein we usually proceed in our Conferences?—*Answer.* We enquire,

1. What Preachers are admitted into full connexion this year? 2. Who remain on trial? 3. Who are admitted on trial? 4. Who desist from travelling? 5. Who have died this year? 6. Are there any objections to any of the Preachers? (they are then named one by one.) 7. How are the Preachers stationed this year? 8. What numbers are in the Societies? 9. What is the Kingswood collection? 10. What boys are received this year? 11. What girls are assisted? 12. What is contributed for the yearly expences? 13. How was it expended? 14. What is contributed towards the fund for superannuated Preachers and Widows? 15. What demands are there upon it? 16. How many Preachers' wives are to be provided for? 17. By what Societies? 18. When and where may our next Conference begin?\*

Thursday, the 17th of February 1791, Mr. *Wesley* preached at *Lambeth* : but on his return home, seemed much indisposed, and supposed he had taken cold.—

The

\* Since Mr. *Wesley's* death, when the Preachers assemble, the first thing they do is to elect a President and Secretary, which is done by ballot. The Minutes of the Districts are then read over : after which the Conference proceeds according to the above method.

The next day, he read and wrote as usual ; and in the evening preached at *Chelsea* with some difficulty, having a high degree of fever. Saturday he still persevered in his usual employments, though to those about him, his complaints seemed evidently increasing. He dined at *Islington*, and desired a friend to read to him from the fourth to the seventh chapter of *Job*, inclusive. On Sunday he rose early, according to custom, but quite unfit for the exercises of the day. He was obliged to lie down about seven o'clock in the morning, and slept several hours. In the course of the day two of his own discourses on the sermon on the mount, were read to him ; and in the evening he came down to supper. Monday the 21st, he seemed much better, and visited a friend at *Twickenham*. Tuesday, he went on with his usual work, preached at the *City-Road*, and seemed better than he had been for some days. Wednesday he went to *Leatherhead*, where he delivered his last sermon, from *Seek ye the Lord while he may be found ; call ye upon him while he is near.*—Thursday he paid a visit to Mr. *Wolff's* lovely family at *Balaam*, from whence he returned, on Friday the 25th, extremely ill. His friends were struck with the manner of his getting out of the carriage, and still more when he went up stairs, and sat down in his chair. He sent every one out of the room, and desired not to be interrupted for half an hour. When that time was expired, some mulled wine was brought him, of which he drank a little. In a few minutes he threw it up, and said, " I must lie down." His friends were now alarmed, and Dr. *Whitehead* was immediately sent for. On entering the room, he said in a cheerful voice, " Doctor, they are more afraid than hurt." Most of this day he lay in bed, had a quick pulse, with a considerable degree of fever and stupor.

stupor. Saturday, the 26th, he continued much in the same state ; taking very little, either of medicine or nourishment. Sunday morning, he seemed better, got up, and took a cup of tea. Sitting in his chair he looked quite cheerful, and repeated these words of his brother *Charles*.

“ Till glad I lay this body down,  
 Thy servant, Lord attend ;  
 And, O ! my life of mercy crown  
 With a triumphant end !”

Soon after he emphatically said, “ Our friend *Lazarus* sleepeth.” Exerting himself to converse with some friends he was soon fatigued, and obliged to lie down. After lying some time quiet, he looked up, and said, “ Speak to me, I cannot speak.” The persons present knelt down to pray with him, and his hearty *Amen*, shewed he was perfectly sensible of what was said. Some time after he said, “ There is no need of more ; when at *Bristol* my words were,

“ I the chief of sinners am,  
 But Jesus died for me.\*”

Monday, the 28th, his weakness increased. He slept most of the day, and spoke but little ; yet that little

\* At the *Bristol* Conference, in 1783. Mr. *Wesley* was taken very ill : neither he nor his friends thought he could recover. From the nature of his complaint, he supposed a spasm would seize his stomach and probably occasion sudden death. Under these views of his situation, he said to Mr. *Bradford*, “ I have been reflecting on my past life : I have been wandering up and down, between fifty and sixty years, endeavouring in my poor way, to do a little good to my fellow creatures : and now it is probable, that there are but a few steps between me and death ; and what have I to trust to for salvation ? I can see nothing which I have done or suffered, that will bear looking at. I have no other plea than this, ‘ I the chief of sinners am, but Jesus died for me.’” The sentiment here expressed and his reference to it in his last sickness, plainly shews how steadily he had persevered in the same views of the Gospel with which he set out to preach it.

little testified how much his whole heart was taken up in the care of the societies, the glory of God, and the promotion of the things pertaining to that kingdom, to which he was hastening. Once he said, in a low but distinct manner, "There is no way into the holiest, but by the blood of Jesus." He asked what the words were, from which he had preached a little before at *Hampstead*. Being told they were these; *Brethren, ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, though he was rich, yet for your sakes became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich.* He replied, "That is the foundation, the only foundation, and there is no other."—This day Dr. *Whitehead* desired he might be asked, if he would have any other physician called in to attend him? but this he absolutely refused.—It is remarkable, that he suffered so little pain, never complaining of any during his illness, but once of a pain in his breast. This was a restless night.—Tuesday morning, he sang two verses of a hymn: then lying still, as if to recover strength, he called for pen and ink; but when it was brought he could not write. A person said, "Let me write for you, Sir:—tell me what you would say." He replied, "Nothing, but that God is with us." In the forenoon he said, "I will get up." While they were preparing his clothes, he broke out in a manner that astonished all who were about him, in singing,

"I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,  
And when my voice is lost in death,  
Praise shall employ my nobler powers:  
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,  
While life, and thought, and being last,  
Or immortality endures!"

Having got him into his chair, they observed him change for death. But he, regardless of his dying body,

body, said with a weak voice, "Lord, Thou givest strength to those who can speak, and to those who cannot. Speak, Lord, to all our hearts, and let them know that Thou loosest tongues." He then sung,

"To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
Who sweetly all agree"—

Here his voice failed. After gasping for breath he said, "Now we have done all." He was then laid on the bed, from whence he rose no more. After resting a little, he called to those who were with him, "To pray and praise." Soon after he said, "Let me be buried in nothing but what is woollen, and let my corpse be carried in my coffin, into the chapel." And again called upon them to "Pray and praise," and taking each by the hand, and affectionately saluting them, bade them farewell. Attempting afterwards to say something which they could not understand, he paused a little, and then with all the remaining strength he had, said, "The best of all is, God is with us." And again, lifting his hands, he repeated the same words in holy triumph, "The best of all is, God is with us." Something being given him to moisten his lips, he said, "It will not do; we must take the consequence. Never mind the poor carcase." Being told that his brother's widow was come, he said, "He giveth his servants rest;" thanked her as she pressed his hand, and affectionately endeavoured to kiss her. His lips being again wet, he repeated his usual grace after a meal; "We thank Thee, O Lord, for these and all thy mercies: bless the Church and King, grant us truth and peace, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord." After some pause, he said, "The clouds drop fatness. The Lord is with us; the God of *Jacob*

*Jacob* is our refuge." He again called them to prayer, and appeared fervently to join in their petitions.

Most of the following night, he often attempted to repeat the psalm before mentioned ; but could only get out, " I'll praise, I'll praise." On Wednesday morning, his end drew near. Mr. *Bradford*, his old and faithful friend, who, with the affection of a son, had attended him for many years, now prayed with him; and the last word he was heard to articulate, was " Farewell."—A few minutes before ten, on the second day of March, while a number of friends were kneeling around his bed,

*Died Mr. John Wesley, without a groan !*

He was in the eighty-eighth year of his age, had been sixty-five years in the Ministry ; and the preceding pages will be a lasting memorial of his uncommon zeal, diligence, and usefulness in his Master's work, for more than half a century.—His death was an admirable close of so laborious and useful a life.

March the 9th, was the day appointed for his interment. The Preachers then in *London*, requested that Dr. *Whitehead* should deliver the Funeral Discourse ; and the executors afterwards approved of the appointment. The intention was, to carry the corpse into the chapel, and place it in a raised situation before the pulpit during the service. But the crowds which came to see the body while it lay in the coffin, both in the private house, and especially in the chapel the day before the funeral, were so great, that his friends were apprehensive of a tumult, if they should proceed on the plan first intended. It was therefore resolved, the evening before, to bury him between five and six in the morning. Though the time of notice to his friends was short, and the design  
itself



itself was spoken of with great caution, yet a considerable number of persons attended at that early hour. The late Rev. Mr. *Richardson*, who now lies with him in the same vault, read the funeral service in a manner that made it peculiarly affecting: when he came to that part of it, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear *Brother*, &c." he substituted, with the most tender emphasis, the epithet *Father* instead of *Brother*; which had so powerful an effect on the congregation, that from silent tears, they seemed universally to burst out into loud weeping.

Inscription on his Coffin.

JOHANNES WESLEY, A.M.  
Olim. Soc. Coll. Lin. Oxon.  
Ob. 2do. die Martii, 1791.  
An. Æt. 88.\*

The Discourse by Dr. *Whithead* was delivered † in the chapel at the hour appointed in the forenoon, to an astonishing multitude of people; among whom were many Ministers of the Gospel, both of the Establishment, and *Dissenters*. The audience was still and solemn as night; and all seemed to carry away with them, enlarged views of Mr. *Wesley's* character, and serious impressions of the importance of religion, and the utility of *Methodism*.

The

\* "John Wesley, Master of Arts, formerly Fellow of Lincoln-College, Oxford, died on the second day of March, 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

† This excellent Discourse is subjoined in the Appendix to this

The death of *Mr. Wesley*, attracted the public notice beyond any former example, perhaps, of a Clergyman however dignified. It being generally known, that he died as he had lived; and evinced in death, the uprightness and integrity of his life, the impression on the public mind in favour of his character and of *Methodism*, was almost universal; so that some persons said, *Mr. Wesley* will do more good by his death, than he did in his whole life. This, however, is certain, that a door of usefulness was *now* opened to the *Methodist* Preachers, unknown at any former period.



*The following is a COPY of his LAST WILL and*  
TESTAMENT.

In the name of God, Amen!

"**I** JOHN WESLEY, Clerk, some time Fellow of *Lincoln-College, Oxford*, revoking all others, appoint this my last Will and Testament.

"I give all my Books now on sale, and the copies of them (only subject to a rent charge of 85l. a year to the widow and children of my Brother) to my faithful friends, *John Horton*, Merchant, *George Wolff*, Merchant, and *William Marriott*, Stock-Broker, all of *London*, in trust for the general Fund of the *Methodist* Conference in carrying on the work of God, by itinerant Preachers, on condition that they permit the following Committee, *Thomas Coke*, *James Creighton*, *Peard Dickenson*, *Thomas Rankin*, *George Whitefield*, and the *London* Assistant for the time being, still to super-intend the Printing-Press, and to employ *Hannah Paramore* and *George Paramore*, as heretofore, unless four of the Committee judge a change to be needful.

"I give the Books, Furniture, and whatever else belongs to me in the three houses at *Kingswood*, in trust to *Thomas Coke*, *Alexander Mather*, and *Henry Moore*, to be still employed in teaching

teaching and maintaining the children of poor travelling Preachers.

" I give to *Thomas Coke*, Doctor *John Whitehead*, and *Henry Moore*, all the Books which are in my Study and Bed-chamber at *London*, and in my Studies elsewhere, in trust for the use of the Preachers who shall labour there from time to time.

" I give the Coins, and whatever else is found in the drawer of my Bureau at *London*, to my dear grand daughters *Mary* and *Jane Smith*.

" I give all my Manuscripts to *Thomas Coke*, Doctor *Whitehead*, and *Henry Moore*, to be burnt or published as they see good.

" I give whatever Money remains in my Bureau and Pockets to be equally divided between *Thomas Briscoe*, *William Collins*, *John Easton*, and *Isaac Brown*.

" I desire my Gowns, Cassocks, Sashes, and Bands may remain in the Chapel for the use of the Clergymen attending there."

" I desire the *London* Assistant for the time being to divide the rest of my wearing apparel among those four of the travelling Preachers that want it most; only my Pellise I give to the Rev. Mr. *Creighton*; my Watch to my friend *Joseph Bradford*; my Gold Seal to *Elizabeth Ritchie*.

" I give my Chaise and Horses to *James Ward* and *Charles Wheeler*, in trust, to be sold, and the Money to be divided between *Hannah Abbott* and the members of the Select Society.

" Out of the first money which arises from the sale of Books, I bequeath to my dear sister *Murtha Hall* (if alive) £40. to Mr. *Creighton* aforesaid, £40. and to the Rev. Mr. *Heath* £60.

" And whereas I am Empowered by a late Deed to name the persons who are to preach in the New Chapel at *London*, (the Clergymen for a continuance,) and by another Deed to name a Committee for appointing Preachers in the New Chapel at *Bath*, I do hereby appoint *John Richardson*, *Thomas Coke*, *James Creighton*, *Peard Dickenson*, Clerks, *Alexander Mather*,

*Mather, William Thomson, Henry Moore, Andrew Blair, John Valton, Joseph Bradford, James Rogers and William Myles* to preach in the New Chapel at *London*, and to be the Committee for appointing preachers in the New Chapel at *Bath*.

"I likewise appoint *Henry Brooke*, Painter, *Arthur Keene*, Gent. and *William Whitestone*, Stationer, all of *Dublin*, to receive the annuity of £5. (*English*) left to *Kingswood-School* by the late *Roger Shiel*, Esq.

"I give £6. to be divided among the six poor men, named by the Assistant, who shall carry my body to the grave; for I particularly desire there may be no horse, no coach, no escutcheon, no pomp, except the tears of them that loved me, and are following me to Abraham's bosom. I solemnly adjure my Executors in the name of God, punctually to observe this.

"Lastly, I give to each of those travelling Preachers who shall remain in the connexion six months after my decease, as a small token of my love, the eight Volumes of Sermons.

"I appoint *John Horton*, *George Wolff*, and *William Marriott*, aforesaid, to be executors of this my last Will and Testament, for which trouble they will receive no recompence till the resurrection of the Just.

"Witness my hand and seal the 20th day of February, 1789.

JOHN WESLEY. (Seal.)

"Signed, Sealed, and delivered, by the said Testator as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us,

WILLIAM CLULOW,

ELIZABETH CLULOW,

"Should there be any part of my personal estate undisposed of by this my last Will: I give the same unto my two Nieces *E. Ellison* and *S. Collet*, equally.

JOHN WESLEY.

WILLIAM CLULOW.

ELIZABETH CLULOW.

Feb. 25, 1789,

"I give my Types, Printing-Presses, and every thing pertaining thereto to Mr. *Thomas Rankin*, and Mr. *George Whitefield*, in trust for the use of the Conference.

JOHN WESLEY."

Above a year and a half after making this Will, Mr. *Wesley* executed a Deed, in which he appointed seven gentlemen, viz. Dr. *Thomas Coke*, Messrs. *Alexander Mather*, *Peard Dickenson*, *John Valton*, *James Rogers*, *Joseph Taylor*, and *Adam Clarke*, Trustees for all his Books, Pamphlets, and Copy-right, for carrying on the Work of God by Itinerant Preachers, according to the enrolled Deed, which we have already mentioned. But Dr. *Coke* being in *America* at the time of Mr. *Wesley's* death, the Deed was suffered to lie dormant till his return. The three Executors then took the advice of two of the most eminent Counsellors in the kingdom, who informed them that the Deed was of a *testamentary* nature, and therefore superseded the Will with respect to the Books, &c. The Deed was then presented to the Judge of the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury*, who received it as the third Codicil of Mr. *Wesley's* Will; on which the three Executors delivered up their general Probate, and received a new one limited to those particulars which were not mentioned in the Deed. At the same time a Probate was granted by the Court to the seven Trustees, constituting them Executors for all the Books, Pamphlets, and Copy-right, of which Mr. *Wesley* died possessed; and empowering them to pay all his debts and legacies.

The

*The State of the Connexion at the Conference preceding  
the Death of Mr. Wesley.*

|                                           | Circuits. | Preachers. | Members. |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------|------------|----------|
| In England, - - - -                       | 65        | - 195      | - 52,832 |
| In Ireland, - - - -                       | 23        | - 67       | - 14,106 |
| In Wales, - - - -                         | 3         | - 7        | - 566    |
| In Scotland, - - - -                      | 8         | - 18       | - 1086   |
| In the Isle of Man, - -                   | 1         | - 3        | - 2580   |
| In the Norman Isles, - -                  | 2         | - 4        | - 498    |
| In the West India Isles, -                | 7         | - 13       | - 4500   |
| In the British Dominions<br>in America, } | 4         | - 6        | - 800    |
| In the United States of<br>America, }     | 97        | - 198      | - 43,263 |
| Total.                                    | 216       | 511        | 120,233  |

The first Preachers began to assist Mr. *Wesley* as Itinerants in the year 1740. Twenty-five years after, viz. in the year 1765, their names and stations were for the first time published in the Minutes of the Conference. All therefore who came into the connexion during that period may be considered as the first race of Methodist Preachers. The last Conference which Mr. *Wesley* presided at, was in the year 1790, exactly twenty-five years from the year 1765. The Preachers who were admitted into the connexion during this period may be considered as the second race of Methodist Preachers. Those who have been admitted since Mr. *Wesley's* death, may be considered as the third race. For all their names, and the year when each began to travel, see the Appendix.

The following Inscription, though in the judgment of many, not at all worthy of Mr. Wesley, has since his interment been put on his Tomb.

To the Memory of  
**THE VENERABLE JOHN WESLEY, A. M.**  
Late Fellow of LINCOLN College, OXFORD.

This GREAT LIGHT arose  
(By the singular Providence of God)  
To enlighten THESE NATIONS,  
And to revive, enforce, and defend,  
The Pure, Apostolical DOCTRINES and PRACTICES of  
THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH:

Which he continued to do, by his WRITINGS and his  
LABOURS,

For more than HALF A CENTURY:

And, to his expressible Joy,  
Not only, beheld their INFLUENCE extending,  
And their EFFICACY witnessed,  
In the Hearts and Lives of MANY THOUSANDS,  
As well in the WESTERN WORLD, as in these  
KINGDOMS:

But also, far above all human Power or Expectation,  
Lived to see PROVISION made, by the singular Grace of  
GOD,

For their CONTINUANCE and ESTABLISHMENT,  
To THE JOY of FUTURE GENERATIONS!  
READER, If thou art constrained to bless the INSTRUMENT,  
GIVE GOD THE GLORY!

*After having languished a few days, He at length finished  
his COURSE and his LIFE together: gloriously  
triumphing over DEATH, March 2, An.  
Dom. 1791, in the Eighty-eighth Year  
of his Age.*

The following Epitaph, written by Dr. Whitehead, has been inscribed on a marble Tablet and placed in the New Chapel, City-Road, by order of the Trustees.

Sacred to the Memory  
Of the *Rev.* JOHN WESLEY, *M.A.*  
Sometime *Fellow* of LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.  
A Man, in Learning and sincere Piety,  
Scarcely inferior to any :  
In Zeal, Ministerial Labours, and extensive Usefulness,  
Superior (perhaps) to all Men  
Since the days of *St. PAUL*.  
Regardless of Fatigue, personal Danger, and Disgrace,  
He went out into the highways and hedges,  
Calling Sinners to Repentance,  
And Preaching the *GOSPEL* of Peace.  
He was the Founder of the *Methodist Societies* ;  
The Patron and *Friend* of the Lay-Preachers, ,  
By whose aid he extended the Plan of Itinerant preaching  
Through GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND,  
The *West-INDIES* and AMERICA  
With unexampled Success.  
He was born June 17th, 1703,  
And died March 2d, 1791 ;  
In sure and certain hope of Eternal life,  
Through the Atonement and Mediation of a Crucified Saviour.  
He was sixty-five Years in the *Ministry*,  
And fifty-two an Itinerant Preacher :  
He lived to see, in these KINGDOMS only,  
About three-hundred Itinerant,  
And a thousand *Local* Preachers,  
Raised up from the midst of his own People ;  
And eighty-thousand Persons in the Societies under his care.  
His Name will ever be had in grateful Remembrance  
By all who rejoice in the universal Spread  
Of the Gospel of *CHRIST*.

*Soli Deo Gloria.*





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# APPENDIX.

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## SECT. I.

### Funeral Sermon,

Delivered at the New Chapel in the City-Road, *London*,

On the 9th of March, 1791,

At the Interment of the late Rev. JOHN WESLEY,

By JOHN WHITEHEAD, M. D.

2 SAMUEL iii. 38.

*Know ye not, that there is a Prince, and a great Man fallen  
this day in Israel ?*

I SHALL only observe on the passage of Scripture which I have now read, that the Hebrew word, which is rendered Prince, sometimes signifies a Leader; and sometimes also it is applied to a person of superior or princely qualities. In this general sense the passage may be applied to that eminent Servant of God, of whose character I am now to speak. This is all the use I shall make of the words; I consider them only as a motto to the Discourse I intend to deliver.

When we consider the public character of the late Rev. Mr. Wesley, and the various opinions which have been entertained concerning him: when we consider the extent of his labours, the influence which he has had over a large body of people, and the prevalence of his sentiments, not only in these, but even in other nations; it becomes a matter of some importance to enquire into the leading features of his character, both as a Man, and as a Minister of the Gospel. This I mean to do in the present discourse.

But you must not expect the flowers of eloquence, nor the splendid ornaments of speech : these are things which I do not much cultivate. I will, however, endeavour to speak with plainness and propriety, so as to be understood ; and I hope that in going through the various matters I intend to speak of, you will receive instruction and profit.

I. 1. Although the acquisition of human learning has been little esteemed by some religious people ; yet we must acknowledge that it is of very considerable service to a Minister of the Gospel. The knowledge of languages, and of arts and sciences, is not only an ornament to the mind, but it enlarges the human faculties ; it improves the understanding, gives a habit of thinking closely and reasoning justly ; and prepares the mind, when under a proper direction, for great attainments even in religion. These advantages Mr. *Wesley* possessed in a high degree, and he knew well how to improve them to the most useful purposes in his ministerial labours. His mind was richly furnished with literature in its various branches : he was well read in ancient, and several modern tongues. In the learned languages he was a critic : and must have studied them with peculiar pleasure in his youth, or he could not have made that progress in classical learning, which so justly raised him to a distinguished rank as a Scholar. It has been acknowledged by men who were good judges, and no great friends to Mr. *Wesley*, that when at College, he gave proofs of a fine classical taste : and there are some poems which he wrote at that time, which shew that he had formed his taste on the best models of antiquity. Those who were much in his company, and heard his apt and pointed quotations from the *Greek* and *Roman* Classics, on the various occasions which occurred in travelling and in conversation, could not but be sensible that he had read them as a critic ; that he admired their stile, had entered into their spirit, and was delighted with their beauties.—He has selected some pieces from the *Roman* Classics ; and as he travelled, he would sometimes read them for his amusement.

But he did not confine his studies of this kind to profane literature : SACRED LEARNING likewise occupied much of his time and attention. He was well read in the *Hebrew* Scriptures ; and in the original language of the New Testament he was an able critic, and so conversant with it, that sometimes of late I have been exceedingly surprized to observe, that, when he has evidently been at a loss to repeat a passage out of the New Testament in the words of our common translation, he was never at a loss to repeat it in the original *Greek* ; the words seemed to flow without the least difficulty or hesitation, and he was always correct in reciting them ; which made it evident to me, that the words and phrases of the original,

original, were more familiar to him than the words of any translation.

2. THE WORKS OF GOD IN THE CREATION, afford another fruitful source of instruction and pleasure to an enquiring mind; and the five volumes which he published on *Natural Philosophy*, shew how well he had studied that branch of knowledge. It is true, he did not study the higher branches of the Mathematics; but he esteemed the knowledge of this science of great importance in the improvement of the mind. It forms a person to a habit of close attention to a subject, and of thinking and reasoning justly upon it. And it appears to me that he applied himself to the study of it in his youth, so far as to make himself master of Sir *Isaac Newton's* Principia, and of his Theory of Light and Colours.

3. THE ART OF LOGIC was another branch of science, which he had cultivated with the utmost attention and care. It has been universally acknowledged that he was a master in it. But Logic, in his view of it, is not what has been commonly so called in the schools: it is not the art of wrangling, nor of making frivolous distinctions, often without a difference. Logic, according to him, is common sense improved by art; or, in his own words, "the art of good sense; the art of comprehending things clearly; of judging truly; and of reasoning conclusively: or, in another view of it, the art of learning and teaching."

4. If we take a view of his conduct in the early part of life, we shall find, that he paid a strict attention to religion: his character was moral from early youth; he always revered God and his sacred word: he was attentive to the forms of religion, and so far as he at that time understood it, he undoubtedly was conscientious and regular in the practice of all the duties of it.

5. If we consider his qualifications for enquiring after truth, I think we shall find that he possessed every requisite to examine a subject that we could expect or wish a man to have: a strong natural understanding highly cultivated, and well stored with the knowledge of languages, and of various arts and sciences; he had a reverence for God; he was conscientious in all his ways, and intent upon discovering the truth in every thing that became the subject of his enquiries. And it evidently appears, that he had firmness and resolution to embrace truth wherever he found it, however unfashionable it might appear. This is not the case with all men of learning: many persuade themselves that they are searching after truth; but if they meet with it dressed in a different form to that under which they have been accustomed to consider it, they are ashamed of it. This cannot be said of Mr. *Wesley*; cautious in his enquiries, he sought truth from

the love of it, and wherever he found it, had firmness to embrace it, and publicly to avow it. These are evidences of a strong and liberal mind, possessed of every requisite to prosecute enquires after truth.

That this is a just representation of him, is evident; for, we find that notwithstanding the extent of his knowledge, the seriousness of his devotion, and the regularity of his conduct: and although at this time he gave all he had to feed and clothe the poor, and was not only blameless in the eye of the world, but in many things excelled; yet, after a diligent and patient examination of the Scriptures, he became sensible that all he knew, and all he did, was insufficient to reconcile him to God: he became sensible that all he could do, could never atone for one sin. I will give you his own words on this subject; which he wrote, not by way of ostentation, but of humiliation; and to awaken reflection, if possible, in the minds of those who might think of themselves as he had formerly thought of himself.

"Are they read in Philosophy? so was I. In ancient or modern Tongues? so was I also. Are they versed in the science of Divinity? I too have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently on spiritual things? the very same could I do. Are they plenteous in alms? Behold I gave all my goods to feed the poor. Do they give their labour as well as their substance? I have laboured more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, and ease. I have put my life in my hand. I have given my body to be parched up with heat; consumed with toil and weariness, or whatever God should please to bring upon me. But does this make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did or can, *know, say, give, do, or suffer*, justify me in his sight? By no means. If the Oracles of God are true; if we are still to abide by the law and the testimony; all these things, though when ennobled by faith in Christ, they are holy, just, and good; yet without it are dung and dross. This then I have learned, that, having nothing in, or of myself to plead, I have no hope but that of being justified freely through the righteousness that is in Jesus: I have no hope, but that if I seek I shall find Christ, and be found in him, not having my own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith."

These were the thoughts he had of himself at this time, when his understanding was opened to the view of gospel truths; when he began to see the purity and holiness of  
God

God and his own sinfulness, notwithstanding all the excellencies he had to plead in the opinion of others.

Let us now observe, that this opinion was not taken up rashly : no doubt many of his friends, when they heard him speak in this manner, thought him beside himself : when they considered his former manner of life, and his regularity in every part of his conduct, and heard him say that he was a sinner, a sinner under the wrath of God, a sinner that stood in need of mercy ; they looked upon him as almost insane. But this opinion of himself was the result of the most mature enquiry : it was not an enthusiastic notion, the effect of a heated imagination ; it was a conviction of his mind founded on a scriptural and rational view of the nature of God, and of his own state. Consider, I beseech you, what I have been observing of his qualifications to enquire after truth : a man of a strong understanding, of a cultivated mind, accustomed to the habit of reasoning, accustomed to investigate every thing in the most cautious manner, before he drew his conclusions : and tell me if this be the conduct of an enthusiast ? If it be the character of one that takes up things rashly ; that follows the dictates of a wild imagination ? Will any man calmly affirm this ? We must say, that this opinion of himself was not taken up in any such way. He tells us, that after conversing with people of experience, he sat down and read his *Greek Testament* over, with a view to the grand and leading doctrines of justification : he could not be satisfied with any thing less than this : he proceeded upon conviction in every step that he took. And let me ask if any man could proceed with more caution, or take wiser methods to guard against error, in a matter of such importance to his own comfort and happiness, and to the peace and comfort of others ? And here we may again trace the marks of a great and liberal mind ; when he saw the truth, he embraced it though it condemned himself. This is not the case with all : how many see the truth and shrink from it ? He on the contrary embraced it though it condemned him ; and though he knew the profession of it would expose him to ridicule, contempt, and reproach. Is it possible for any man to give a stronger proof than this, that he acts from conviction ; and from a love of (what at least he conceives to be) the truth ? Had all those who have read Mr. *Wesley's* writings, or heard him preach, acted with the same sincerity and firmness that he did, the number of converts would have been much more numerous than we have yet seen them.

II. 1. We shall now endeavour to take a view of his religious sentiments. He made up his mind upon the doctrines he

he taught, as I have observed before, in the most cautious manner, examining the scriptures continually, never adopting any opinion without evidence from Scripture and reason. So far was he from following a heated imagination, or taking up opinions as an enthusiast, that he maintained we ought to use our understanding, compare one thing with another, and draw just conclusions from such comparisons, as well in matters of religion as in other things. It is in this sense he uses the word *reason* when he says, "There are many that utterly decry the use of reason in religion, nay, that condemn all reasoning concerning the things of God, as utterly destructive of true religion; but we can in no wise agree with this. We find no authority for it in holy writ. So far from it, that we find there both our Lord and his Apostles reasoning continually with their opposers. Neither do we know in all the productions of ancient and modern times such a chain of reasoning and argumentation, so close, so solid, so regularly connected, as the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. And the strongest reasoner whom we have ever observed (excepting only *Jesus of Nazareth*) was that *Paul of Tarsus*; the same who has left that plain direction for all Christians, "In malice or wickedness be ye children; but in understanding, or reason, be ye men."

It is evident from these words, that Mr. *Wesley* deemed it necessary to use his reason in searching into the things of God. He read the Scriptures, and used his understanding in the best manner he could, to comprehend their meaning. He formed his religious principles in this way; he examined every step he took, and admitted no doctrine, nor any interpretation of Scripture, but what appeared to him to be agreeable to reason.

How absurd is it to suppose, that we must lay aside our reason in matters of religion. What has a man to guide him, if he lay aside the use of his reason; You will say the Scriptures are the rule of our faith and practice: but, I ask how a man can apply the rule without using his reason? What has he to shew him that he applies it right rather than wrong? A man that gives up his reason in matters of religion; I will even say in matters of experience, in matters that concern the internal state of his own mind, abandons himself to imagination, and is liable to be carried away by his passions, he knows not whither; like a ship at sea without a rudder, and without a compass, he has nothing to direct him how to steer his course, and he cannot tell whither he is going. How justly then did the Rev. Mr. *Wesley* adopt this principle, that we ought to use our reason to guard our minds

minds from error ; and to enable us to form a true judgment both of Scripture and experience.

2. Let us now take a view of his general notion of religion. Speaking to one who required a religion agreeable to reason, he says, " We join with you in desiring a religion founded on reason, and every way agreeable thereto. But one question remains to be asked, what do you mean by reason? I suppose you mean the eternal reason, or, the nature of things : the nature of God, and the nature of man, with the relations necessarily subsisting between them. ' This is the very religion we preach : a religion evidently founded on, and every way agreeable to eternal reason, to the essential nature of things. Its foundation stands on the nature of God, and the nature of man, with their mutual relations."

We have here his general view of religion ; and he publicly avows that the Gospel which he preached is agreeable to this view : that it is agreeable to the nature of God and the nature of man, with their mutual relations. He was indeed at the utmost distance from the supposition, that the Gospel, as a system, is inconsistent with reason. And he explained and illustrated, on some occasions, the general doctrines which he taught, in such a way as to shew that they are conformable to the general principle, which he has here laid down. The outcry then which has been raised against him, and the whole body with whom he was connected, as enthusiasts and fanatics, is wholly unfounded ; it only proceeds from the workings of a prejudiced mind, and a want of attention to the things spoken.

3. The Gospel, considered as a general plan of salvation, he viewed as a display of the divine perfections, in a way agreeable to the nature of God ; in which all the divine attributes harmonize, and shine forth with peculiar lustre. Divine love in the gift of a Redeemer : divine wisdom, conspicuous in the plan of redemption : divine justice, tempered with mercy to man, in the death of the Saviour ; divine energy and power, in making the whole effectual to raise a fallen creature from a state of sin and misery, to a state of holiness and happiness, and from a state of death, to immortal life and glory. All these are conspicuous in the Gospel, as a general plan of salvation ; and shine forth in the face of Jesus Christ with peculiar glory. Thus far then the Gospel, in his view of it, is worthy of God, and coincides with our notions of the harmony and unity of the divine attributes.

4. The Gospel, considered as a means to attain an end, discovers as great fitness in the means to the end, as can possibly



possibly be discovered in the structure of natural bodies, or in the various operations of nature, from a view of which we draw our arguments for the existence of God. How often have you heard this excellent man enlarge on these things? How often has he shewn you, that the Gospel affords as clear a display of the moral perfections of God, as the works of nature do of his existence? This certainly was not an irrational view of the Gospel; but shewed a mind enlarged, capacious, capable of comprehending great things, of investigating every part of the Gospel, and of harmonizing the whole.

5. Considering the Gospel as holding forth benefits to man, those benefits are suited to the nature and state of man. How often have you heard him explain this? Man is blind, ignorant, wandering out of the way; his mind being estranged from God, he lives without God in the world. But the Gospel, as a system of moral truths, is adapted to enlighten the understanding and direct the judgment. But experience and observation may convince us, as well as the Scripture, that a man may contemplate moral truths, and learn to discourse well on them, without acquiring a practical moral principle of sufficient strength to reform his conduct. It is conscience that judges of the right or wrong of a man's motives and actions. And till conscience interpose its authority, and pass sentence on him, the man remains insensible of his own state and condition, however well he may discourse on morality in general. He is, in the language of Scripture, dead in trespasses and sins. The Gospel then, being the power of God to salvation, must be more than a mere system of morals. It promises, and God actually gives, the Spirit of promise, which convinces the world of sin. The Spirit of God accompanies the word of the Gospel, and the other means of grace, and makes them effectual to awaken conscience to the exercise of its office, to pass the sentence of condemnation for what has been done wrong; and the speculative truths of the understanding being thus combined with the dictate of conscience, a practical principle is formed of sufficient strength to restrain the passions and reform the conduct. This our Rev. Father in the Gospel used to call repentance, and often conviction for sin. And was he irrational in this? Is not this blessing of the Gospel agreeable to the state, and to the natural faculties of man?

6. He considered the Gospel as a dispensation of mercy to men, holding forth pardon, a free pardon of sin to all who repent and believe in Christ Jesus. That this is a scriptural doctrine no man can doubt who reads the New Testament:

Testament : it is interwoven with every part of Scripture, It will bear the test of reason also. It is suited to the state and wants of men, as they stand related to an holy God. It is suited to the wants of every man living; every man has sinned and come short of the glory of God; every man therefore stands in need of mercy. It was not then irrational in our great Minister to hold forth the rich display of divine grace in Christ Jesus to penitent sinners, in the free manner that he did. His doctrine is founded on a general view of the scriptures; on the peculiar promises of the gospel, and it is suited to the present condition and wants of men as they stand related to God and the prospects of another world.

7. The gospel enjoins universal holiness both in heart and the conduct of life. The design of it is to regulate our affections, and govern our actions. It requires us to be dead to the world and alive to God: to love the Lord our God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves: to do unto others as we would wish they should do unto us. And God has promised in the gospel, the continual aid and assistance of his Holy Spirit, to strengthen us with all might in the inner man: Christ is a Saviour that is able to save to the uttermost all them that come unto God by him: and there is a throne of grace, at which we may obtain, not only mercy, but grace to help in time of need. To him who rightly believes the gospel, it is a means adequate to the end intended by it: to him it is a quickening spirit, a purifying and cleansing word, the power of God to his salvation: it influences every faculty of his mind, and regulates every action of his life: to his mind it exhibits such views of paternal love in every part of the plan of redemption, and of a superintending Providence, directing all things with unerring wisdom, to promote his holiness here, and his happiness and glory hereafter, that he is continually animated to the practice of every Christian virtue, and strengthened with patience to run the race that is set before him.

The gospel then, considered as a large comprehensive plan of redemption, holds forth blessings suited to our present state and necessities: wisdom to instruct us, grace to justify or pardon, and to sanctify and cleanse us from evil; with promises of protection and help through the snares and difficulties of life. It operates upon us in a way that is suited to our faculties: it enlightens the understanding, awakens the conscience, governs the will, and regulates the affections, Nor are its benefits confined to the present life, they extend to the regions of the dead, and expand our views to the prospects of eternity. What a glorious view does the gospel hold

hold forth to us of a resurrection from the dead? Our Lord hath died and risen again that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living. They that die in the Lord are still under his protection and guidance. Death cannot separate any from the love of Christ. The gospel therefore in this view holds forth blessings suited to our necessities, as comprehensive as our wants, and adapted to our state in life and death, and the enjoyments of a glorious and happy eternity. These views he has held forth to you again and again, with energy and force, and I hope they will make a lasting impression upon you.

8. But I must observe further, that in explaining the order in which the blessings of the gospel are promised to man, he shewed a mind well instructed in the Oracles of God, and well acquainted with human nature.

There is not perhaps greater confusion in any part of the system of religion, or in the common explanations given of the gospel than in this; I mean in the order in which the blessings of the gospel are promised to us, and in which we ought to expect them. We must say, that our Father in the gospel, who is gone to his reward, had an excellent introduction to this part of his ministerial office: he himself had entered in at the right door. When a Minister is awakened in his own heart, when he is truly sensible of his sin and want of a Saviour; and comes to God for mercy as a poor sinner, and accepts it as the free gift of God through Jesus Christ; being sensible that he must be justified (or pardoned) by faith, without the deeds of the law; he is well prepared to instruct others; and to instruct them not only in the right way, but also in the right order in which we ought to expect the benefits of the Gospel. How accurate was Mr. Wesley in shewing that the first step to be a Christian, is to repent; that till the conscience be awakened to a true sense of the evil of sin, a man cannot enter into a state of justification: it would totally subvert the design of the Gospel, were it possible that an unawakened person could be justified. The very supposition frustrates every intention of the coming of the Son of God; which was to deliver us from sin, to reconcile us to God, and to prepare us for heaven. He has carefully and properly distinguished these matters in his preaching and writings; how often has he told you that the awakening of conscience is the first step in supernatural religion; and that till a man is convinced of the evil of sin and is determined to depart from it; till he is convinced that there is a beauty in holiness, and something truly desirable in being reconciled to God; he is not prepared to receive Christ. It would be well if all the ministers of the Gospel laid

laid this true foundation of Christian experience ; and did not confound the order in which the blessings of the gospel are given to the soul. It has been a singular blessing to you, and to the body of the Methodists at large, that your ministers have so accurately distinguished these things, and guarded you against error in a matter that so nearly concerns your peace and your progress in the divine life. You have by these distinctions been enabled to judge with more certainty of your state of mind, and to what degree of experience you have already attained in the things of God : you have been enabled to see more distinctly and clearly the benefits of the Gospel which are still before you and have been animated in the pursuit of them, by an assurance of success, if you persevere in the way which God has appointed.

In marking so distinctly the order in which we experience the benefits of the Gospel, Mr. *Wesley*, in my opinion, has followed the example of our Lord and his Apostles. Our Lord began his preaching, by saying, *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.\** Peter, preaching to the Jews at Jerusalem, says, *Repent ye, and be converted.†* Paul has made this distinction in the most pointed manner : *¶ I kept back nothing, (says he) that was profitable unto you, but have shewed you, and have taught you, publicly and from house to house ; testifying both to the Jews and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.‡* But he has not only followed the Scripture in observing this order, but also reason and the natural order of things. Does not the natural order of things require, that a man be first convinced of his faults, before he can be reclaimed from them ? Must not a man be conscious of his condemnation before he will apply to God for pardon ? Our progress in Christian experience bears a striking analogy to our progress in any art or science. A man must first be instructed in the fundamental principles of an art or science, before he can proceed to the higher branches of it. The first step prepares him for the second, and so on through the whole of his progress. The same order is observable in Christian experience. The first step in it prepares the mind for the second ; and so on till we come to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. In this important article then, Mr. *Wesley* has spoken according to Scripture, and agreeably to the nature and fitness of things.

The second important and necessary step in Christian experience, is, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, arising from a  
Scriptural

office. When the mind is duly prepared to receive Christ in this character, pardon is held forth in the Gospel as a free gift, without money and without price; Christ is here proposed to us as the atonement for our sins. How often has he set him forth as crucified before your eyes? He has exhibited him to your view in his priestly character as the atonement for the sins of the world. He has often shewn you that the atonement which he has made is complete; that the most vile helpless sinner who repents and turns from his sins may come and freely receive pardon as the gift of God in and through Christ; and have free admittance to this throne of grace. How gloriously has he often explained this truth, and with what good effect to many of you? You have been blessed and strengthened under his word, God has borne witness to the truth of it, and sealed its evidence on your hearts. Again, In explaining sanctification he has accurately distinguished it from justification, or the pardon of sin. Justification admits us into a state of grace and favour with God, into the family of heaven: into a state of fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ, and lays the foundation of sanctification or Christian holiness in all its extent. He has shewn you that the tendency and end of your justification, is holiness of heart and holiness in all manner of conversation; that being justified by faith your relation to God is altered; your sins are forgiven; you are now become children of God and heirs of all the promises of the gospel, and are quickened and animated with the spirit of it. In this stage of Christian experience, faith realizes the truths of the Gospel to the mind; it becomes a practical principle of sufficient strength not only to restrain the passions, but to purify the heart, to influence every faculty of the soul, and every action in life, and to transform the man as a moral agent into the image of God. What a glorious view of the Gospel has he afforded you; and how often has he instructed you that Christ, as the living head of his church, and acting upon it, in and by the means of every part of the Gospel, is sufficient to accomplish the end of his coming; to change the heart, write his laws upon our mind, and make us like himself. He has urged these views of the Gospel upon you again and again, and roused you to an ardent pursuit of universal holiness and purity. It is true, there has been a great clamour raised against him on this subject, because he called his view of sanctification by the word *perfection*; many even of the professors of religion have thought him very absurd in this matter. I shall only observe upon this head, that, he has often explained to you what he meant by that term; and, that

that he did not mean to differ with any one about a word, though it be Scriptural. That he meant by the word perfection, such a degree of the love of God and the love of man ; such a degree of the love of justice, truth, holiness, and purity as will remove from the heart every contrary disposition towards God or man : and that this should be our state of mind in every situation, and in every circumstance of life. Oh ! what a paradise would this earth be, were all Christians sanctified in this degree ! Can there be a more amiable picture of the Gospel than this ? Is it irrational to tell us that God sent his Son into the world to make us new creatures ? To give us true views of God and of ourselves : of his love, mercy, truth, and goodness : of his providential care and his all-sufficiency to bless us with every blessing in heavenly things in Christ Jesus ; to give us true views of life, death, and eternity, and hereby to arm us with divine strength to resist and overcome the world, the flesh and the devil ; and to give us those dispositions of mind which prepare us to worship, love, reverence and serve God, and to be just, true, and helpful to one another in this wilderness, as a preparation for the enjoyment of God, and the society of heaven ? And is this, I say, to talk irrationally ? as an enthusiast ? as one, who is doing an injury to the world ? How rashly do men judge and speak when their passions are inflamed ; but candour must acknowledge that in this he excelled, and that, though his doctrine be contrary to the lives of the professors of religion in general, it is agreeable to the oracles of God, and to the nature and fitness of things.

There is another point that I mean to consider, relative to his religious opinions, and a point likewise that has been strangely misunderstood, and a great outcry raised against it ; not indeed by the bulk of religious people, but by men of abilities, and of learning, who make pretensions to reason and calm discussion. The article I mean is this ; that all the blessings of the Gospel are to be obtained by faith. He has told us expressly, that we are saved by faith : he has told us also, what he means by salvation ; the being put in possession of the blessings of the Gospel ; the being justified by the grace of God through the redemption that is in Christ ; the being sanctified, or made holy in heart and holy in all manner of conversation ; he has taught you that all these things are to be obtained by faith. This has been thought a very irrational opinion ; but I think it has been thought so very rashly. That it is consonant with the Scriptures is beyond a doubt : you can hardly open your Testament in any part but you will find this doctrine taught : you can hardly read a  
chapter

chapter in *St. Paul's Epistles* but you find it inculcated again and again. I apprehend it will bear the test of reason also, and be found upon strictest enquiry, to be agreeable to our state and condition in this life. Is it unreasonable, for instance, that we should believe in God? That we should believe in him, who made us, who upholds us, and who governs all things; in him, who conducts the whole machine of nature in all its vast extent, and in all its complicated operations; who comprehends every thing as it were in one grasp, in whom all things live, and move, and have their being. Is it unreasonable that a poor mortal who knows not what is just coming upon him, not even what shall happen to him the next moment, should trust in God? That he should confide in the goodness and providence of him, who sees all things at one view, past, present, and to come: and who sees man at one glance, in every period of his existence, with every surrounding circumstance? Must not every reasonable man allow, that this is agreeable to the nature of God, and the state of man?

The Gospel promiseth to us a state of intercourse and fellowship with God, in the present enjoyment of spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus. Faith is made a necessary condition of entering into this state of intercourse and enjoyment. In this, God has dealt with us in a way suitable to our faculties and our state of intercourse with one another. For you can have no kind of connexion with each other, without faith; all must acknowledge that faith is the bond of human society. Can you transact any kind of business without it? It is evident that you cannot. You can have no enjoyment of the things of this life without an act of faith preceding it. All your expectations and future prospects in life are founded on faith. You will find, upon examination, that in every branch of business, in every social intercourse, you must first believe, and then you will obtain the thing you expected, provided your faith be rightly placed. You cannot engage a servant, without faith in him. A merchant cannot transact business with any one, without first having faith in the person with whom he transacts that business. When the husbandman plows his land and sows his seed, faith is the principle from which he acts. Unless then we act from faith, we can have no fellowship with one another, nor enjoy the comforts of life. And we may further observe, that, if the mind be sufficiently furnished with knowledge and prudence, our success will be in proportion to the degree of faith, and the exertions that are made in consequence of it. This great man then, has shewn himself well acquainted both with Scripture and human nature,

ture, in explaining this important article of Christian experience.

It would be easy to shew at large how faith operates on the mind in every step of Christian experience. In repentance, the first step towards the Christian life is, a man must believe that there is a God, who is holy, just and good: he must believe the word of God; that there is a judgment to come, when every thought and action will be examined, and when the wicked will be condemned to punishment, and the righteous will inherit eternal life. He must believe also that God is merciful, that pardon may be obtained through Jesus Christ; for a view of the holiness of God and of his own sinfulness, would, without this, produce despair, which is not Gospel repentance. When, by the grace of God, these things are imprest upon the mind of a man, with full conviction of their truth, they awaken the conscience, and excite him to attention and self-examination, and gradually prepare him to receive Christ in his mediatorial character.

With respect to pardon, when the mind is rightly prepared for it, the Gospel has made faith the express condition of it. How ably has our aged Minister in the Gospel established this truth, and defended it against all opposition. Pardon of sins is obtained for us by the blood of Christ, it is promised to us by the word of God, but it must be received by faith; we must believe in the word of promise, in order to receive it. And he that believeth is justified: he is justified now, the moment he receives Christ as his Mediator, as his Saviour, as his Atonement. His faith is counted to him for righteousness, it gives him a title to the promise of pardon, and to the blessings connected with it.

If we examine further how faith purifies the heart, we shall find that there is nothing irrational in the doctrine. There is nothing better adapted to remove every evil from the human heart than faith in Christ; there is nothing more efficacious, as a means to preserve us from evil through life, than faith rightly explained and rightly exercised; faith as it unites us to Christ our Living Head, gives us a principle of the divine life; we begin to live unto God, from a principle of love in the heart; to live a life that is given by him who is the resurrection and the life, and who raiseth the soul to an union with God. When this has taken place, old things are done away, all things are become new: the views, the purposes and the affections of the man are changed: he no longer acts from the same motives, nor by the same rule as before; a new principle of action is formed in the heart, which directly leads to holiness and to God.

Faith



Faith as a practical principle, is called by St. Paul, *the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen*. It gives the things hoped for a present subsistence in the mind, in that degree which is suited to our present state. It is the evidence of things not seen: it realizes the truths of the Gospel to the mind, and enables it to view them with as much certainty as we have of the existence of corporeal objects, when we feel their influence on our senses. A man who acts under the influence of this faith, who has Gospel truths full in his view, with all the certainty that his senses can give him of the existence of external objects, will undoubtedly find his heart powerfully affected by them. This faith will work by love: it will purify the heart from every thing contrary to the mind that was in Christ. It will enable him to acknowledge God in all his ways, to set him continually before his eyes, to live as in his presence, with a view to his glory, and resigned to his will. Let us instance in one thing only at present. Suppose a man believe that there is a Providence which superintends human affairs: if he be assured that Divine Love can intend nothing but good in every thing that happens to him, and that Infinite Wisdom cannot err in adapting the means to the end intended: if he be as fully assured of these truths as he is of the existence of the things which he sees or hears; will not this faith lead him to a reverential fear of God, and a perfect resignation to his will in every occurrence of life? It appears to me certain, that it will make him cautious in his conduct, and attentive to every part of his duty. He will be anxiously careful for nothing, but, living under a deep sense of the Divine Presence and care, his mind will be kept in perfect peace because it is stand upon God. In this then our aged Father in Christ, appears to have spoken agreeably to Scripture and reason.

Let us now take notice of his notions of the universality of Gospel blessings. Here he shone with peculiar lustre; here he did honour to God and the Divine attributes; he maintained that God is a God of love, not to a part of his creatures only, but to all; that he who is the Father of all, who made all, who stands in the same relation to all his creatures; loves them all: that he loved the world and gave his Son a ransom for all without distinction of persons; that there is no respect of persons with God. This is an amiable character of the Deity. It always appeared to him, that to represent God as partial, as confining his love to a few, was unworthy our notions of the Deity. He therefore represented the Gospel in the most glorious and extensive point of view. He maintained that Christ died for all men, that

that he is to be offered to all ; all are to be invited to come to him ; and whosoever comes in the way which God has appointed may partake of his blessings. He maintained, 'That sufficient grace is given to all, in that way and manner which is best adapted to influence the mind. And may we not appeal to every man's experience for the truth of this ? How often has he appealed to the consciences of men ? Have not your hearts reproved you ? Have not you at times trembled for your sins ? Nay, have you not done more than this ; have you not been ashamed of yourselves, have you not detested your own conduct in secret, when none has seen you but God, and none has been privy to your actions but your own heart ? Whence does this arise ? Certainly not from man but from God. It is an evidence that there is salvation for thee O man who art in this state ; God is not willing that thou shouldst perish ; he is calling thee, inviting thee to turn from thy sins, and turn to God. He has thus stated the truths of the Gospel with convincing evidence to the candid mind, which is open to the conviction of truth. And herein he spoke according to the Scriptures. The expressions of Scripture are positive in favour of this doctrine : there are passages which so positively declare it, that it is impossible to give any other construction to them without the greatest violence ; but there is not a single passage in the New Testament, which seems to favour the doctrine that Christ died for a part of mankind only, which will not easily admit of a different construction.

It is true he has raised some enemies by this doctrine. He has been called an Arminian ; and perhaps many who have used the term have annexed an idea to it by no means just. How often has he wished, and it is devoutly to be wished by all the friends of true religion, that the names of Calvinist and Arminian were buried in oblivion ; they have only tended to keep up strife and discord, amongst those who ought to love one another as brethren, however they may have differed on some points of doctrine. But some have supposed that to be an Arminian is to maintain salvation by works : it is to degrade Christ ; throw the lustre of redemption by Christ into a cloud at any rate, if not to overturn it. Was this the case with our minister of the Gospel ? Did he not preach free grace as much as any Calvinist ? Did he not assert that pardon is the free gift of God, without money and without price ? Did he not assert that repentance itself only prepares the heart to receive the gift of God, and that it does not give any kind of merit to the man ? How often has he declared to you that the best works any man can perform need atonement. So far was he from putting works in the

place of the blood of Christ, that he only gave them, in my opinion, their just value; he placed them in the order of Christian experience where the Gospel places them; where we ought all to place them; as the fruits of a living operative faith, and as the measure of our future reward; for every man will be rewarded, not for his works, but according to the measure of them. This is undoubtedly a Scriptural representation of this matter, and it would be well if all Christians were to attend to this distinction more than they do. It is to be feared that some have cried out against works, not from the very best motives, at least from some inclination to relax in holiness. The way in which some have preached faith, has done no honour to the Gospel; and may probably have encouraged some persons to pay less attention to Christian duties than they ought to do. But we must say of him, that while he insisted on good works as the necessary fruits of faith, he gave the whole glory of salvation to God, from first to last; not only in the general plan of it, but in the order of communicating the benefits of Christ to the mind. He believed that man would never turn to God, if God did not begin the work; nay, how often has he told you, that the first approaches of grace to the mind are irresistible; what I mean is, that a man cannot avoid being convinced that he is a sinner; that God by various means awakens his conscience; and whether the man will or no, these convictions approach him. Here you see, he gave all the glory of the work of salvation in the heart, to the grace of God, he ascribes no merit to works; he tells you indeed that in proportion as you improve the grace given you shall have more, and be rewarded according to your works, with grace here as well as glory hereafter.

There is one subject more, which, though it be of the utmost importance in religion, I must touch upon as briefly as possible. The subject which I mean is Christian experience. It is well known that this able Minister of the Gospel, together with his brother *Charles* and the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, have been the principal instruments in the hands of God, of diffusing the knowledge of this important article of the Christian religion, amongst the bulk of the people of this country. And in this respect only, they have been a blessing to every class and order of men. For though all have not believed their report, yet many have believed it in every station of life, and borne a happy testimony to the truth of it. How ably has our beloved Father illustrated and defended this part of Christianity! Many indeed have supposed that what we call experience is mere imagination: that it is nothing more than the working up of our minds into a fancy of

of something which can have no foundation in truth or reason. This has been the general opinion of what the Methodists call *experience*, and hence has arisen the charge of enthusiasm. But it appears to me, that Christian experience is something real and not imaginary: that it rests upon as solid a foundation as the evidence of our external senses. I think that we have no more reason to doubt the reality of our experience, when it is Scriptural, than we have to doubt of the existence of an object which we see with our eyes, or of a sound which we hear with our ears, when these organs are in the most sound and healthy state. But let us enquire what Christian experience is, and what degree of certainty there is in it.

Christian experience is the present possession of the benefits of the Gospel which relate to this life, and which prepare us for the enjoyment of God in glory. If we use the word in the most extensive sense, so as to include the preparation of the mind to receive Christ in his mediatorial character, it will imply repentance towards God, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the fruits of the Spirit, so admirably described by *St. Paul*: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness and temperance,\* with all the privileges of the Christian state here. In the Gospel we are commanded to repent and turn to God; to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be filled with the fruits of the Spirit. The Gospel promises every necessary aid and assistance to put us in possession of these benefits; and we read also in the New Testament of many persons who professed to have experience of these things. If indeed the Gospel be a fable, then the things it speaks of, and the promises it makes, signify nothing real, they are purely imaginary, and to profess any experience of them must be delusion. But, as we have the most certain evidence that the Gospel is of God: that it gives a true account of what God has done and is now doing for the salvation of men, and of the means by which he is accomplishing this great purpose, the promises it gives us must signify something real, and they must be as certain as the existence and truth of God himself. It is certain then, that we may experience the blessings it promises to us, if we seek them in the way which God has appointed.

If we enquire into the evidence which a man has that he does experience the things we here speak of, we shall find that it is of the strongest kind possible. If a man's understanding be enlightened with Gospel truths; if his conscience be awakened to decide justly on his motives and actions, as they are related to God and his law; if in consequence of

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this, he turn from his sins, and is humbled, abased, and ashamed before God for them, and prays for mercy ; how is it possible for such a change as this, to take place, in the dictates of his conscience, and in the opinion he has had of himself, and he not know it ? the very supposition is absurd ; he must be as conscious of it as he is of his own existence, or of any thing that happens to him. In like manner, when a person in the state I have now described, is enabled to believe in Jesus Christ to the saving of his soul ; to rely fully upon him for pardon and acceptance with God ; must not such a person be conscious of this act of his mind, and the change in his views of God, and in the feelings of his mind that are subsequent to it ? Will he not be as conscious and certain of these things as he is when he sees an object before him, or feels pleasure or pain ? If he that believeth be filled with love, joy, peace, and the other fruits of the Spirit just mentioned, must he not be certain of this ? Our internal consciousness carries the same conviction of reality with it, as our external senses. Would it not appear exceedingly absurd to you, if you heard a person say in the common affairs of life, that he loved an object dearly, but that he was not conscious of any love ? that he rejoiced exceedingly in a thing, but that he did not feel any joy ? It is just the same in Christian experience. If from proper views of the Gospel and faith in Christ, I feel peace, I cannot be ignorant of it ; if I look up to God through Jesus Christ with holy confidence, and feel pleasure and delight, I must be conscious and certain of it.

Christian experience then, as the Rev. Mr. *Wesley* has long explained it, has certainty in it : if a man has it he cannot be ignorant of it. But I must say that those who have it not, cannot form a just conception of it. How is it possible for any man who has not felt the peace of God to form a just notion of it ? Its evidence stands on the same ground as the evidence of our external senses. For if a man had never seen colours he could not form any true idea of them : if a man had never felt pain or pleasure, he could not be taught to understand what they are, however perfect his rational faculties might be ; he must feel them to know them. So it is with Christian experience, you must enter into it and feel it, and then you will know what it is ; and as easily distinguish it from the feelings or consciousness arising from other things, as you distinguish seeing from hearing, or the touch from the smell :

III. 1. Having considered the character of the Rev. Mr. *Wesley* as a man of learning, and well qualified to examine a subject

subject and discover the truth; and having taken a view of his principal and leading opinions in religion: my intention is, very briefly to consider, his labours as a Minister of the Gospel, and the effects of them.

2. It is evident from what has been said, that Mr. *Wesley*, was a man of industry from his youth, and employed his time to the greatest advantage in pursuit of literary knowledge. After he was convinced of the pure doctrines of the Gospel, he was assiduous in declaring them to others. How few possess the necessary qualifications for useful studies and for active life! These were united in him in a very high degree. His leading doctrines, which I have examined, discover a diligent and patient examination of the Scriptures, great strength of judgment, and closeness of reasoning: and he was not less remarkable for his zeal, activity and steadiness in propagating them amongst the people, for which many thousands have had reason to thank God in their dying moments. At first he preached in the churches wherever an opportunity offered; but his doctrines giving offence to some, and the crowds that attended him raising envy in others, the churches were by degrees shut against him. If we consider his firm attachment to the church of England, and his fondness for regularity and order in church government, it will appear surprizing that this circumstance did not damp his zeal, and shake the firmness of his mind. It is happy that it did not. Being convinced of the importance of the doctrines of the Gospel to the people at large, and that it was his duty to preach the glad tidings of peace and salvation to all; knowing also that God loves mercy rather than sacrifice, he thought it would be criminal in him to sacrifice his views of the Gospel, and his opportunities of doing good, to the prejudices of others. He therefore went out into the high-ways and hedges to invite sinners to repentance and make them partakers of Gospel blessings. He must have foreseen, that in taking this step mankind would put different constructions on his conduct; and, that, to attempt a thing so new in the world would raise many enemies against him, and expose him to many difficulties. Whatever prospects his former situation had afforded him, of ease, honour or wealth, these he left behind him; and nothing could at this time present itself to his view, but labour and weariness, accompanied with reproach, persecution, and contempt from men. Is it possible to suppose for a moment, that a man of calm reflection, as Mr. *Wesley* was, who never took any step of importance without mature deliberation, would have acted as he did at this time, without a full conviction that he was doing his duty? that the doctrines which he taught were the

the truths of the Gospel, and of the utmost importance to the happiness of men? He must have had more than a bare conviction of these truths; he must have been animated with an ardent desire to glorify God in the propagation of his truth, and to be instrumental of good to his fellow creatures. Candour will acknowledge that these were his motives; the subsequent part of his life has made it evident, and his conduct is not to be accounted for on any other principles.

3. The regularity and steadiness with which Mr. *Wesley* pursued his labours, and the extent to which he carried them, are almost beyond conception, and sufficient to awaken astonishment in the mind of any man who reflects upon them. When he first went out to preach in different parts of the kingdom, and to carry the light of the Gospel to those who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, he was surrounded with difficulties on every side. In many places he had scarcely food to eat, or a place to lie down in. In some places, he was considered as an enemy to his country; in others, that he had private and interested views in what he did; for few could at first imagine that any man would undergo the labour and fatigue which he underwent, purely for the good of others. But none of these things ever moved him, he still continued to travel from place to place to do good to those who reviled and persecuted him. He laboured day and night for the good of the people. This he did through persecution, reproach, and every difficulty that lay in his way: nothing turned him aside from the grand object of preaching the Gospel to the poor. Here we cannot but admire the strength and firmness of his resolution, and his love of God and man, which enabled him to persevere in this arduous and difficult undertaking. O what a glorious influence would the Gospel soon acquire over the minds of men, if those who are true ministers of it, had the bold, the firm, the intrepid spirit which Mr. *Wesley* has shewn! Did they, like him, give up their ease, their pleasure, and every thing which is counted dear in this world, to do good unto men, to glorify God, and bring men to the obedience of Christ! There are many ministers of the Gospel who wish well to experimental religion, and many who truly preach it, but their preaching is limited to a few persons comparatively speaking: his mind expanded to larger views of public good: his arms would have embraced, if possible, all mankind, and as far as his strength would carry him he spread the knowledge of Gospel truth into every part of these kingdoms.

4. Mr.

4. Mr. *Wesley* was not only proof against labour, persecution and reproach, he was proof also against the softer and finer feelings of human nature, when they stood in the way of the great work in which he was engaged. I mean those feelings only, which are apt to effeminate the mind, or warp a man from a uniform and steady attention to his duty. He had a peculiar pleasure in reading and study; and every literary man knows the force of this passion, and how apt it is to make him encroach on the time which ought to be employed in other duties. But Mr. *Wesley* had the resolution to lay aside any subject, whenever the hour came that he was to set out on his journey, or was to preach or visit the sick. He had a high relish for rational and polite conversation; but whatever company might happen to come where he was, to converse with him during supper, he would constantly retire to rest at his usual hour, that he might rise at four o'clock in the morning, which was his constant practice winter and summer for more than sixty years together. He was far from being insensible to the feelings of friendship; but whenever any friendship he had formed, interfered with the good of the work he was called to, he could immediately break it off. The work to which God had called him occupied all his time and attention: he considered<sup>as</sup> it as the business of his life, and sacrificed every pleasure and gratification to it. How much do all of you owe to him, who has sacrificed every thing dear to flesh and blood for so many years together to benefit you. It appears quite astonishing and more than human, to see a man pursuing the public good with so much ardour and steadiness for so long a time, denying himself every gratification and pleasure, except that of doing good. You know well I do not exaggerate his character; you know this has been his general character for the number of years he has been engaged in this work.

5. The industry of Mr. *Wesley* was almost incredible. From four o'clock in the morning till eight at night his time was employed in reading, writing, preaching, meeting the people, visiting the sick, or travelling. Before the infirmities of age came upon him, he usually travelled on horse-back, and would sometimes ride thirty, forty, or fifty miles in a day, and preach two, three, or sometimes four times. He had a constant correspondence with some persons in the different Societies all over the three kingdoms, and with the Preacher in every part, and would answer their letters with great punctuality. He knew the state of the Societies in general, and of many individuals in each of them. He read most publications that were deemed valuable, if they related to religion



religion or natural philosophy, and often made extracts from them. If we consider the whole of his labours, and compare them with what most men of industry have done, we may say that he has lived life two or three times over.

6. The effects of Mr. *Wesley's* labours have been much more extensive than any person would at first imagine. He was at the head of the little company first formed at *Oxford*. And if we consider the state of these kingdoms, when the two Mr. *Wesleys* and Mr. *Whitefield* first went out to preach publicly, we must acknowledge that experimental religion was almost lost, at least among the common people. Without being censorious, I apprehend we may say, that religion was little more than loose opinions, and modes and form of worship among the people in general.\* It appears to me evident, that the preaching of these three men of God has had a very extensive influence on all denominations of religious people; it has been the means of awakening their attention to the grand and leading principles of the Gospel; and of making them consider the experimental part of it. Their labours also have had a happy influence on the ministers of the Gospel of every denomination, although some may have been ashamed to own it. With respect to the whole body of the people commonly called Methodists, they have been the means of raising them up. What were you, O ye Methodists, before ye heard these three servants of God, and those associated with them declare the glad tidings of peace and salvation? You were scattered in the world, ignorant of God, and of the things that belong to your peace and salvation; but you that were not a people, are now become the people of God, by their instrumentality. And what shall I say to you my brethren, who have been more immediately connected with him who is now no more with us? You have been knit together by him in the bonds of Christian fellowship: you have been growing up under his paternal care for many years. He has nourished and cherished you as a tender father: he has watched over you with anxious care, as a faithful shepherd over his flock. Consider now the effects of his labours on different bodies of people who have no immediate connexion with us; consider the numerous Societies spread over the three kingdoms in connexion with him, and over whom he exercised the care of a father; extend your views to *America*, and consider the thousands and tens of thousands, I had almost said millions, who have felt the influence of his labours

\* Dr. Watts, Dr. Doddridge and several others, were excellent men, and well acquainted with experimental religion. The author does not intend any reflection on these, and other good and able Ministers of the Gospel. He rejoices to mention their excellencies.

labours in the course of sixty years; and it seems an extent of usefulness beyond what one could imagine any one man capable of. But the hand of God has been in it; the Providence of God has been over it and it is evident that he was raised up of God for this great work.

7. The effects of Mr. *Wesley's* labours on civil society have been, and still will be, very considerable. Not only particular parts of the kingdom have received benefit from the preaching of the Methodists, but society in general must feel some beneficial influence from them. If you consider the whole body of people usually called Methodists, and the immense numbers who attend their places of worship and are benefited by them, they will amount to several hundred thousands. These are dispersed through the three kingdoms, and occupy almost every situation in life: they are become more conscientious in all their ways; more sober and regular in their behaviour; more true to their word, and more attentive to every social duty than they were before. They are better husbands and wives, better masters and servants, and better neighbours and friends than before they heard the preaching of the Methodists. Society in general therefore has received benefit from them.

8. There is another view in which we may consider his usefulness; a view which I should not perhaps have taken any notice of, but for the sake of a pamphlet just now published; in which it is observed, that the Methodists are become so large a body of people, that they ought to attract the notice of government. You all know that the Rev. Mr. *Wesley* was a friend to the King; that he loved him, and was a warm and steady friend to the government; you know that he enforced these principles as far as ever he could, on the minds of all that heard him. The Methodists then, are not only made better citizens, but better subjects also. It is a rule, in the Society, that all the members of it shall submit themselves to the laws, and not defraud the King of his just dues. If it be known that any one acts contrary to this rule, he is put away from the Society. Now if you consider a large body of people, increasing on every side, spreading themselves through the whole kingdom, who are friends to the King and government, friends in every point of view, and from principle; you will acknowledge, that whatever influence these people may have upon government, it must be friendly and have a tendency to peace and good order. And if all the people were Methodists, no times of difficulty could come; but if such times should arrive, the more numerous this body of people is, the better it will be for this country.

Thus

Thus our dear and aged father in Christ, spent near sixty years in the labour and work of the Lord, going about from place to place, convincing gainsayers, comforting the mourners, buikling up and strengthening those that believed, and the Church of God increased daily under his paternal care. Thus he spent his life: and his labours lasted very nearly to the close of it. Oh how happy a life to be spent in doing good; to have no attachment but to God and his work; to forsake all for it. And his conduct in private life was conformable to his public character. How many persons have been ready to say, that Mr. *Wesley* had private ends in view: that he was accumulating money and would die rich. All that knew him, knew how false these accusations were; but all did not know him; thousands however did, who have been witnesses of his integrity and disinterestedness: and thousands of the poor have experienced his benevolence. He constantly made a rule of giving all that he had to the poor: this was a favourite practice with him. He attended to the words of Christ; *Forasmuch as ye have done it unto these, ye have done it unto me.* He considered the poor as left here upon earth, that the followers of Christ may shew their benevolence to them as they would to the person of Christ himself, were he upon earth. How many have said, how gladly would I have entertained Christ, had I lived in that country where he appeared, and at the time of his appearance. But he has left the poor behind him, that you may exercise your benevolence towards them, as you would have done to him. Mr. *Wesley* took a pleasure and delight in doing this, and sometimes left himself so destitute, that he had hardly sufficient to defray his travelling expenses.

I shall only mention one circumstance more, I was asked the other day whether Mr. *Wesley* had not many meeting-houses and chapels that were his property, and whether he did not die rich? I answered, Sir, Mr. *Wesley* had not one house of his own in the three kingdoms, neither a private house nor a preaching house; therefore he did not die rich. What money he had, which was the produce of his books, and what charitable persons gave him to distribute to the poor, he constantly gave away; and as he observes, it only went through his hands, but none of it remained with him.

We must naturally suppose that a person so devoted to the work and service of God and for so long a time, must be an object of divine approbation; it is impossible to conceive of him otherwise. And God shewed marks of approbation to him even in his last moments; which was a great comfort both to him and to his numerous friends.

IV. I was called to Mr. *Wesley* on Friday the 25th of February. When I entered the room he cheerfully said, "Doctor they are more afraid than hurt." I found great oppression on the brain, an universal tremor, great debility of the whole nervous system, and a fever, which I considered as symptomatic, depending wholly on the state of debility. I wrote for him; but he neither took medicine nor nourishment in a quantity sufficient to be of any use. Friday night and Saturday forenoon the lethargic symptoms increased. It now appeared to me that the powers of nature were exhausted; and I was so certain of his approaching dissolution, that I desired Mr. *Bradford* to ask him if he had any affairs which he wished to settle; or if there was any person either in *London* or in the country, whom he desired to see. To these questions he gave no answer. We were all extremely anxious that the lethargy might be removed before his departure hence; and on Saturday evening the means made use of were successful: the lethargic symptoms abated, and on Sunday morning he seemed quite in possession of his faculties, and to feel his situation. His debility however increased, and the fever continued with alternate changes of flushings and paleness. On Monday the 21st, I desired he might be asked if he would have any other physician called in to attend him; but this he absolutely refused. On Tuesday it appeared to me that death was approaching, and in the evening this was very evident. I was with him till past twelve o'clock that night. I asked him, before I left the room, if he knew me, he answered, Yes, and pressed my hand with all the little strength he had. From this time he gradually sunk, and about twenty minutes before ten on Wednesday morning, the 2d of March, he died without a struggle, or a groan, and went to receive the glorious reward of his labours.

From the outlines which I have now drawn of the illustrious character of the late Rev. Mr. *Wesley*, I hope it will appear, that he did not follow cunningly devised fables, but the evidence of Gospel truth. I trust also, that they who are candid, will perceive, that we have not adopted these opinions merely because Mr. *Wesley* taught them, but because they appear to us to be true. Let us then my brethren hold fast the beginning of our confidence steadfast to the end; and prove to the world that our doctrines are true, not only by reason and argument, but by our tempers and our conduct. Let us be careful to act worthy of our holy vocation, and persevere to the end in well doing, and we shall receive, with him who is now gone before us, the promised reward. Which may God of his infinite mercy grant, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

SECT.

## SECTION II.

*A Review of Mr. Wesley's Character, by  
Doctor Whitehead.*

MANY particulars of Mr. *Wesley's* Life, both of a *public* and *private* nature, have already been detailed; and I hope in such a manner as to enable the intelligent reader, by this time, to form an opinion of his character upon good evidence. But we must remember that some particular circumstances, or a few occasional acts in a man's life, do not form his character, but the general tenor of his conduct. Because this shews some fixed principle that uniformly operates upon him, which, with a correspondent practice forms his character. And when a long, virtuous, and useful life, is crowned with an end suitable to it, death puts a stamp upon his virtues; which shews us they are not counterfeit, but genuine. If the candid reader will review Mr. *Wesley's* whole life, and judge of him by this rule, I am persuaded he will think with me, that, whatever failings as a man he might have, he had a degree of excellence in his character to which few men have attained.

But, to complete the picture which I have attempted to draw, it is necessary that some features in it should be more strongly marked. Some persons have affected to insinuate that Mr. *Wesley* was a man of slender capacity; but certainly with great injustice. His apprehension was clear, his penetration quick, and his judgment discriminative and sound: of which his controversial writings, and his celebrity in the office he held at *Oxford*, when young, are sufficient proofs. In governing a large body of Preachers and people, of various habits, interests, and principles, with astonishing calmness and regularity for many years; he shewed a strong capacious mind, that could comprehend and combine together a vast variety of circumstances, and direct their influence through the great body he governed—As a scholar, he certainly held a conspicuous rank. He was a critic in the *Latin* and *Greek* classics; and was well acquainted with the *Hebrew*, as well as with most of the *European* languages now in use. But the *Greek* was his favourite language, in which his knowledge was extensive and accurate—At College, he had studied with a good deal of care, *Euclid*, *Keil*, *Sir Isaac Newton's*

*Newton's Optics, &c. &c.* but he never entered far into the more abstruse parts, or the higher branches of the mathematics; finding they would fascinate his mind, and absorb all his attention, and divert him from the pursuit of the more important objects of his own profession. He was no great friend to metaphysical disquisitions: and I must own that I always thought that he held metaphysical reasoning, even when properly and modestly conducted, in too low estimation. But this, I apprehend, proceeded chiefly from the incompetency of most of those who have entered upon these kinds of speculations, and the mischief which he observed their writings had done, both in the affairs of civil life, and also in religion—He was a most determined opposer of those systems of natural philosophy, which represent the powers of matter as the efficient causes of all the phenomena of nature; whereby God is banished out of the world, and all things, even the actions of men, are supposed to be determined by laws unalterably fixed, no place being left for the interpositions of a superintending providence. He doubted, but did not deny, the truth of the calculations of the planetary distances, and some other parts of modern Astronomy—Natural History was a field in which he walked at every opportunity, and contemplated with infinite pleasure, the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God, in the structure of natural bodies, and in the various instincts and habits of the animal creation. But he was obliged to view these wonderful works of God, in the labours and records of others; his various and continual employments of a higher nature, not permitting him to make experiments and observations for himself.

“As a writer, he certainly possessed talents, both from nature and education, sufficient to procure him considerable reputation” But Mr. *Wesley* did not write for fame; his object was to instruct and benefit that numerous class of people, who have a plain understanding with plain common sense, little learning, little money, and but little time to spare for reading. In all his writings he constantly kept these circumstances in view. Content with doing good, he used no trappings merely to please, or to gain applause. The distinguishing character of his style is, brevity and perspicuity. He never lost sight of the rule which *Horace* gives,

Est brevitæ opus, ut currat sententia, neu se  
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures.

“Concise your diction, let your sense be clear,  
Nor, with a weight of words fatigue the ear.”

In his works we may observe, his words are well chosen, being *pure*, *proper* to his subject, and *precise* in their meaning. His sentences commonly have clearness, unity, and strength; and whenever he took time, and gave the necessary attention to his subject, both his manner of treating it, and his style, shew the hand of a master.

The following is a just character of Mr. *Wesley* as a Preacher. "His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy; his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive: his voice not loud, but clear and manly; his style neat, simple, and perspicuous; and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers. His discourses, in point of composition, were extremely different on different occasions. When he gave himself sufficient time for study, he succeeded; but when he did not he frequently failed."—It was indeed manifest to his friends for many years before he died, that his employments were too many, and he preached too often, to appear with the same advantage at all times in the pulpit. His sermons were always short: he was seldom more than half an hour in delivering a discourse, sometimes not so long. His subjects were judiciously chosen; instructive and interesting to the audience, and well adapted to gain attention and warm the heart. \*

The travels of Mr. *Wesley* in the work of the ministry, for fifty years together, are, I apprehend, without precedent. During this period, he travelled about four thousand five hundred miles every year, one year with another; which give two hundred and twenty-five thousand miles, that he travelled after he became an itinerant Preacher! It had been impossible for him to perform; this almost incredible degree of labour, without great punctuality and care in the management of his time. He had stated hours for every purpose: and his only relaxation was a change of employment. His rules were like the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, absolute and irrevocable. He had a peculiar pleasure in reading and study; and every literary man knows the force of this passion, how apt it is to make him encroach on the time which ought to be employed in other duties: he had a high relish for polite conversation, especially with pious, learned, and sensible men; but whenever the hour came he was to set out on a journey, he instantly quitted any subject or any company in which he might be engaged, without any apparent reluctance.—For fifty-two years, or upwards, he generally delivered two, frequently three or four sermons in a day. But calculating at two sermons a day, and allowing, as a writer of his life has done, fifty annually for extraordinary occasions, the whole number during this period will be, forty thousand

thousand five hundred and sixty. To these might be added, an infinite number of exhortations to the societies after preaching, and in other occasional meetings at which he assisted.

"In social life, Mr. *Wesley* was lively and conversible." He had most exquisite talents to make himself agreeable in company: and having been much accustomed to society, the rules of good breeding were habitual to him. The abstraction of a scholar did not appear in his behaviour; he was attentive and polite. He spoke a good deal where he saw it was expected, which was almost always the case wherever he visited: his invitations to the best families being generally given to shew him respect, and to hear him converse on the different subjects proposed. Having seen much of the world in his travels, and read more, his mind was well stored with an infinite number of anecdotes and observations; and the manner in which he related them, was no inconsiderable addition to the entertainment they afforded. And in private life among his friends, his manner was equally sprightly and pleasant. It was impossible to be long in his company, either in public or private, without partaking of his placid cheerfulness; which was not abated by the infirmities of age, or the approach of death; but was as conspicuous at fourscore and seven, as at one and twenty.

This part of Mr. *Wesley's* character is genuine, being drawn from a view of his life and manners. But how different from an observation made upon him, by Dr. *Thomas Herring*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; in a letter dated January 1756.\* The Archbishop says, "*Whitefield* is *Daniel Burgess redivivus*; and to be sure, he finds his account in his jocosorous addresses. The other author (Mr. *John Wesley*) in my opinion, with good parts and more learning, is a most dark and saturnine creature." As it is evident the Archbishop knew nothing of either of these gentlemen, but by the report of those as ignorant as himself, or from some uncertain conjecture, this censure shews great want of liberality; and the editor of these letters would have done more credit to his friend's memory if he had suppressed it.

The late celebrated Dr. *Johnson*, was remarkably fond of sprightly, rational, polite conversation. And, I apprehend, there was no better judge in *England* of a man's talents in this way, than the Doctor. He was personally acquainted with Mr. *Wesley*, and his judgment of Mr. *Wesley's* manner of conversation is left on record. He said, "Mr. *Wesley's* conversation is good; he talks well on any subject; I could converse with him all night." But Dr. *Johnson*, would certainly not have expressed himself in this strong language of

\* See the Archbishop's letters to William Duncombe, Esq. printed in 1777, page 171.



of approbation, had Mr. *Wesley* been that *dark, saturnine* creature, represented by Archbishop *Herring*.

"A remarkable feature in Mr. *Wesley's* character, was his placability." Having an active penetrating mind, his temper was naturally quick, and even tending to sharpness. The influence of religion, and the constant habit of close thinking, had in a great measure corrected this disposition. "In general he preserved an air of sedateness and tranquillity, which formed a striking contrast to the liveliness conspicuous in all his actions." Persecution, abuse, or injury, he bore from strangers, not only without anger, but without any apparent emotion, and what he said of himself was strictly true: that he had a great facility in forgiving injuries. "Submission on the part of the offender, presently disarmed his resentment, and he would treat him with great kindness and cordiality."—No man was ever more free from jealousy or suspicion than Mr. *Wesley*, or laid himself more open to the impositions of others. Though his confidence was often abused, and circumstances sometimes took place, which would have made almost any other man suspect every body about him, yet he suspected no one; nor was it easy to convince him, that any one had intentionally deceived him. And when facts had demonstrated that this was actually the case, he would allow no more, than that it was so in that single instance. And if the person acknowledged his fault, he believed him sincere, and would trust him again. If we view this temper of his mind in connexion with a circumstance before mentioned, that his most private concerns lay open to the inspection of those constantly about him, it will afford as strong a proof as can well be given, of the integrity of his own mind; and that he was at the furthest distance from any intention to deceive, or impose upon others.

"The temperance of Mr. *Wesley* was extraordinary." When at college he carried it so far, that his friends thought him blamable. But he never imposed upon others, the same degree of rigour he exercised upon himself. He only said, I must be the best judge of what is hurtful, or beneficial to me. Among other things, he was remarkable in the article of sleep; and his notion of it cannot be better explained, than in his own words. "Healthy men, (says he) require above six hours sleep; healthy women, a little above seven, in four and twenty. If any one desires to know exactly what quantity of sleep his own constitution requires, he may very easily make the experiment, which I made about sixty years ago. I then waked every night about twelve or one, and lay awake for some time. I readily concluded, that this arose from my being in bed longer than nature required.

To

To be satisfied, I procured an *alarm*, which waked me the next morning at seven (near an hour earlier than I rose the day before) yet I lay awake again at night. The second morning I rose at six; but notwithstanding this, I lay awake the second night. The third morning I rose at five; but nevertheless I lay awake the third night. The fourth morning I rose at four,\* as, by the grace of God, I have done ever since: and I lay awake no more. And I do not now lie awake, taking the year round, a quarter of an hour together in a month. By the same experiment, rising earlier and earlier every morning, may any one find how much sleep he wants."

It must, however, be observed, that for many years before his death, Mr. *Wesley* slept more or less every day. And his great readiness to fall asleep at any time when fatigued, was a considerable means of keeping up his strength, and enabling him to go through so much labour. I have known him, near thirty years ago, come to a place where he had to preach at noon after a long wearisome ride in a hot day, and without any refreshment lie down and immediately fall fast asleep. After sleeping ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, he would get up refreshed and fit for his work—He never could endure to sleep on a soft bed. I have seen him at night, when he thought the bed too soft to sleep upon, lay himself across it, and roll two or three times backward and forward, till it was sufficiently flattened, and then get into it. Even in the latter part of life, when the infirmities of age pressed upon him, his whole conduct was at the greatest distance from softness or effeminacy.

A writer of Mr. *Wesley's* life, from whom some observations respecting his general character, have already been taken, has further observed, "Perhaps the most charitable man in England, was Mr. *Wesley*." His liberality to the poor, knew no bounds but an empty pocket. He gave away, not merely a certain part of his income, but all that he had: his own wants provided for, he devoted all the rest to the necessities of others. He entered upon this good work at a very early period. We are told, that, "When he had thirty pounds a year, he lived on twenty-eight, and gave away forty shillings. The next year, receiving sixty pounds, he still lived on twenty-eight, and gave away two and thirty. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two. The fourth year he received one hundred and twenty pounds. Still he lived on twenty-eight, and gave to the

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poor

\* Mr. *Wesley* may be said to have lived in the course of sixty years, five years more than those who spend 8 hours out of 24 in sleep, and seven years and a half more than those who sleep 9 hours in the 24.

poor ninety-two " In this ratio he proceeded during the rest of his life: and in the course of fifty years, it has been supposed, he gave away between twenty and thirty thousand pounds; a great part of which, most other men would have put out at interest, upon good security.

Mr. *Wesley's* charitable donations, were often misrepresented. Envy will never want a pretext, to put the worst construction on the best and most generous actions. Some years ago, *Erasmus*, Bishop of *Crete*, visited *London*. It has been said, that his Episcopal character was authenticated by a letter from the Patriarch of *Smyrna*; who added, that the *Turks* had driven him from his See, for baptizing a *Mussulman* into the faith of Christ. That the known liberality of Mr. *Wesley*, should induce him to be kind to such a stranger in distress, is not to be wondered at; but the report circulated in some periodical publications of that time, that Mr. *Charles Wesley* had offered him forty guineas to consecrate his brother a Bishop, is totally without foundation, and has not even the shadow of probability to give it credit.

In the distribution of his money, Mr. *Wesley* was as disinterested, as he was charitable. He had no regard to family connexions, nor even to the wants of the Preachers who laboured with him, in preference to strangers. He knew that these had some friends; and he thought the poor destitute stranger might have none, and therefore had the first claim on his liberality. When a trifling legacy has been paid him, he has been known to dispose of it in some charitable way before he slept, that it might not remain his own property for one night. " Every one knows the apostrophes in which he addressed the public, more than once, on this subject, declaring, that his own hands should be his executors." And though he gained all he could by his publications, and saved all he could, not wasting so much as a sheet of paper; yet by giving all he could, he was preserved from *laying up treasures upon earth*. He had declared in print, That, if he died worth more than ten pounds, independent of his books, and the arrears of his fellowship, which he then held, he would give the world leave to call him, " A thief and a robber." This declaration, made in the integrity of his heart, and height of his zeal, laid him under some inconveniences afterwards, from circumstances which he could not at that time foresee. Yet in this, as all his friends expected, he literally kept his word, as far as human foresight could reach. His chaise and horses, his clothes, and a few trifles of that kind, were all, his books excepted, that he left at his death. Whatever might be the value of his books, is of no consequence, as they were placed in the hands of Trustees, and the

the profits arising from the sale of them to be applied to the use and benefit of the Conference; reserving only a few legacies which Mr. *Wesley* left, and a rent-charge of eighty-five pounds a year to be paid to his brother's widow; which was not a legacy but a debt, as a consideration for the copy-right of his brother's hymns.

Among the other excellencies of Mr. *Wesley*, his moderation in controversy deserves to be noticed. Writers of controversy too often forget, that their own character is intimately connected with the manner in which they treat others: and if they have no regard for their opponents, they should have some for themselves. When a writer becomes personal and abusive, it affords a fair presumption against his arguments, and ought to put us on our guard against deception. Most of Mr. *Wesley's* opponents were of this description; their railing was much more violent, than their reasons were cogent. Mr. *Wesley* kept his temper, and wrote like a *Christian*, a gentleman, and a scholar. He might have taken the words of the excellent *Hooker*, as a motto to his polemical tracts, "To your railing I say nothing, to your reasons I say what follows." He admired the temper in which Mr. *Law* wrote controversy: only in some instances Mr. *Law* shews a contempt for his opponent, which Mr. *Wesley* thought was highly improper.

During the time that Mr. *Wesley* strictly and properly speaking, governed the societies, his power was absolute. There were no rights, or privileges; no offices of power or influence; but what were created or sanctioned by him: nor could any persons hold them, but during his pleasure. The whole system of *Methodism*, like a great and complicated machine, was formed under his direction, and his will gave motion to all its parts, and turned it this way or that, as he thought proper. His influence, like a mighty torrent, gathered strength in its progress, at every intermediate step between him and the great body of the people. Let us suppose, for instance, that on some important matter which concerned all the societies, or the nation at large, Mr. *Wesley* gave his orders to the Assistants, dispersed through the three kingdoms: these would impress them on the other itinerants, in number together, let us suppose three hundred. With the influence of this body, these orders would pass on, to about twelve hundred local Preachers in a vast variety of situations; who, in conjunction with the itinerants, would impress them on about four thousand Stewards and Class Leaders; and these, by personal application, might, in a short time enforce them on about seventy thousand individuals, members of the societies. In addition to this, we may suppose, the itinerant and local Preachers in the course of ten days or a

fortnight, publicly address between three and four hundred thousand people, when the same matter might be further urged upon them. Now, what could stand against such influence as this? so combined, diffusive, and rapid in its progress, when once put in motion? If directed against any individuals in the societies, whatever might be their character or influence, their opposition could only be like pebbles before a torrent rolling down the side of a mountain; it would be swept away without being perceived.

I do not say, that Mr. *Wesley* ever exercised his authority on so extensive a scale as here represented: all I mean to shew the reader is, that, had any occasion of sufficient importance required it, he had the power of doing so.

It is natural to suppose, that some persons would be offended with Mr. *Wesley's* power over the whole connexion; as thinking they had some right to share it with him. He has, accordingly, been charged with the love of power, even so far as to be a blemish in his character. But he always denied the charge. This however is certain, that he always considered his power, as inseparably connected with the unity and prosperity of the societies over which he presided: and, whether mistaken or not, it is probable, that on this account only he was so tenacious of it. This may certainly be said to his praise, that no man ever used his power with more moderation than Mr. *Wesley*. He never sought his own ease or advantage in the use of it: the societies laboured under no inconvenience from it, but prospered under his government. They derived this benefit from his supreme power, if any were injured or oppressed by the ignorance or rashness of a Preacher, they obtained immediate redress by applying to him. Having known him for twenty-five years, and having examined his private papers, I have no hesitation in declaring, that I am fully convinced he used all his influence and power to the best of his judgment, on every occasion, to promote the interests of Christianity, the prosperity of the people he governed, and the peace and welfare of his country, disregarding any private concern or attachment whatever, when it stood in the way of his general purpose of doing good.

I shall finish this review of Mr. *Wesley's* character, with two or three sketches of it drawn up by different persons, and printed soon after his death; being persuaded they will be highly acceptable to the candid reader.

"Now that Mr. *John Wesley* has finished his course upon earth, I may be allowed to estimate his character, and the loss the

world has sustained by his death. Upon a fair account, it appears to be such, as not only annihilates all the reproaches that have been cast upon him; but such as does honour to mankind, at the same time that it reproaches them. His natural and acquired abilities, were both of the highest rank. His apprehension was lively and distinct; his learning extensive. His judgment, though not infallible, was in most cases excellent. His mind was steadfast and resolved. His elocution was ready and clear, graceful and easy, accurate and unaffected. As a writer, his style, though unstudied and flowing with natural ease, yet for accuracy and perspicuity, was such as may vie with the best writers in the *English* language. Though his temper was naturally warm, his manners were gentle, simple, and uniform. Never were such happy talents better seconded by an unrelenting perseverance in those courses, which his singular endowments, and his zealous love to the interests of mankind, marked out for him. His constitution was excellent: and never was a constitution less abused, less spared, or more excellently applied, in an exact subservience to the faculties of his mind. His labours and studies were wonderful. The latter were not confined to theology only, but extended to every subject that tended, either to the improvement, or the rational entertainment of the mind. If we consider the reading he discovers by itself, his writings and his other labours by themselves, any one of them will appear sufficient to have kept a person of ordinary application, busy during his whole life. In short, the transactions of his life could never have been performed, without the utmost exertion of two qualities, which depended, not upon his capacity, but on the uniform steadfastness of his resolution. These were inflexible temperance, and unexampled economy of time. In these he was a pattern to the age he lived in; and an example, to what a surprising extent a man may render himself useful in his generation, by temperance and punctuality. His friends and followers have no reason to be ashamed of the name of *Methodist*, he has entailed upon them: as, for an uninterrupted course of years, he has given the world an instance of the possibility of living without wasting a single hour; and of the advantage of a regular distribution of time, in discharging the important duties and purposes of life. Few ages have more needed such a public testimony to the value of time; and perhaps none have had a more conspicuous example of the perfection, to which the improvement of it may be carried.

“As a minister, his labours were unparalleled, and such as nothing could have supported him under, but the warmest zeal for the doctrine he taught, and for the eternal interests  
of

of mankind. He studied to be gentle, yet vigilant and faithful towards all. He possessed himself in patience, and preserved himself unprovoked, nay, even unruffled in the midst of persecution, reproach, and all manner of abuse, both of his person and name. But let his own works praise him. He now enjoys the fruits of his labours, and that praise who which he sought, not of men, but of God.

"To finish the portrait. Examine the general tenor of his life, and it will be found self-evidently inconsistent with his being a slave to any one passion or pursuit, that can fix a blemish on his character. Of what use were the accumulation of wealth to him, who, through his whole course, never allowed himself to taste the repose of indolence, or even of the common indulgence in the use of the necessities of life. Free from the partiality of any party, the sketcher of this excellent character, with a friendly tear, pays it as a just tribute to the memory of so great and good a man, who, when alive was his friend."

The following, so far as it goes, is an accurate and beautiful picture of this extraordinary man, drawn by Alexander Knox, Esq.

"Very lately, I had an opportunity, for some days together, of observing Mr. *Wesley* with attention. I endeavoured to consider him, not so much with the eye of a friend, as with the impartiality of a philosopher: and I must declare, every hour I spent in his company, afforded me fresh reasons for esteem and veneration. So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind, beamed forth in his countenance. Every look shewed how fully he enjoyed 'The gay remembrance of a life well spent:' and wherever he went; he diffused a portion of his own felicity. Easy and affable in his demeanour, he accommodated himself to every sort of company, and shewed how happily the most finished courtesy may be blended with the most perfect piety. In his conversation, we might be at a loss whether to admire most, his fine classical taste, his extensive knowledge of men and things, or his overflowing goodness of heart. While the grave and serious were charmed with his wisdom, his sportive sallies of innocent mirth delighted even the young and thoughtless; and both saw in his uninterrupted cheerfulness, the excellency of true religion. No cynical remarks on the levity of youth, embittered his discourse: no applausive retrospect to past times, marked his present discontent. In him, even old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud; and it was impossible to observe him without wishing fervently, 'May my latter end be like his!'

"But

" But I find myself unequal to the task of delineating such a character. What I have said, may to some appear as panegyric; but there are numbers, and those of taste and discernment too, who can bear witness to the truth, though by no means to the perfectness of the sketch I have attempted. With such I have been frequently in his company; and every one of them, I am persuaded, would subscribe to all I have said. For my own part, I never was so happy as while with him, and scarcely ever felt more poignant regret than at parting from him; for well I knew, "I ne'er should look upon his like again."

The following beautiful portrait of Mr. Wesley was drawn by a masterly hand. It appeared soon after his death, in a very respectable publication; and was afterwards inserted in *Woodfall's Diary*, London, June 17, 1791.

" His indefatigable zeal in the discharge of his duty has been long witnessed by the world; but, as mankind are not always inclined to put a generous construction on the exertions of singular talents, his motives were imputed to the love of popularity, ambition, and lucre. It now appears that he was actuated by a disinterested regard to the immortal interest of mankind. He laboured, and studied, and preached, and wrote, to propagate, what he believed to be the Gospel of Christ. The intervals of these engagements were employed in governing and regulating the concerns of his numerous societies; assisting the necessities, solving the difficulties, and soothing the afflictions of his hearers. He observed so rigid a temperance, and allowed himself so little repose, that he seemed to be above the infirmities of nature, and to act independent of the earthly tenement he occupied. The recital of the occurrences of every day of his life would be the greatest encomium.

" Had he loved wealth, he might have accumulated it without bounds. Had he been fond of power, his influence would have been worth courting by any party. I do not say he was without ambition; he had that which Christianity need not blush at, and which virtue is proud to confess. I do not mean, that which is gratified by splendour and large possessions; but that which commands the hearts and affections, the homage and gratitude, of thousands. For him they felt sentiments of veneration, only inferior to those which they paid to heaven: to him they looked as their father, their benefactor, their guide to glory and immortality: for him they fell prostrate before God, with prayers and tears, to spare his doom, and prolong his stay. Such a recompence as this, is sufficient to repay the toils of the longest life. Short of this, greatness is contemptible impotence. Before this,  
lofty



lofty prelates bow, and princes hide their diminished heads.

" His zeal was not a transient blaze, but a steady and constant flame. The ardour of his spirit was neither damped by difficulty, nor subdued by age. This was ascribed by himself, to the power of Divine grace; by the world to *Enthusiasm*. Be it what it will, it is what Philosophers must envy, and Infidels respect; it is that which gives energy to the soul, and without which there can be no greatness or heroism.

" Why should we condemn that in religion, which we applaud in every other profession and pursuit? He had a vigour and elevation of mind, which nothing but the belief of the Divine favour and presence could inspire. This threw a lustre round his infirmities, changed his bed of sickness into a triumphal car, and made his *exit* resemble an *Apotheosis* rather than a dissolution.

" He was qualified to excel in every branch of literature: he was well versed in the Learned Tongues, in *Metaphysics*, in Oratory, in Logic, in Criticism, and every requisite of a *Christian minister*. His style was nervous, clear, and manly; his preaching was pathetic and persuasive; his Journals are artless and interesting; and his compositions and compilations to promote knowledge and piety, were almost innumerable.

" I do not say he was without faults, or above mistakes; but they were lost in the multitude of his excellencies and virtues.

" To gain the admiration of an ignorant and superstitious age, requires only a little artifice and address; to stand the test of *these times*, when all pretensions to sanctity are stigmatized as hypocrisy, is a proof of genuine piety, and real usefulness. His great object was, to revive the obsolete doctrines, and extinguished spirit of the Church of *England*; and they who are its friends, cannot be his enemies. Yet for this he was treated as a fanatic and impostor, and exposed to every species of slander and persecution. Even Bishops and Dignitaries entered the lists against him; but he never declined the combat, and generally proved victorious. He appealed to the *Homilies*, the Articles, and the Scriptures, a vouchers for his doctrine; and they who could not decide upon the merits of the controversy, were witnesses of the effects of his labours; and they judged of the tree by its fruit. It is true, he did not succeed much in the higher walks of life; but that impeached his cause no more, than it did the first planters of the Gospel. However, if he had been capable of assuming vanity on that score, he might rank among his friends

friends some persons of the first distinction, who would have done honour to any party. After surviving almost all his adversaries, and acquiring respect among those who were the most distant from his principles, he lived to see the plant he had reared, spreading its branches far and wide, and inviting not only these kingdoms, but the Western world, to repose under its shade.—No sect, since the first ages of *Christianity*, could boast a founder of such extensive talents and endowments. If he had been a candidate for literary fame, he might have succeeded to his utmost wishes; but he sought not the praise of man; he regarded learning only as the instrument of usefulness. The great purpose of his life was doing good. For this he relinquished all honour and preference; to this he dedicated all the powers of body and mind; at all times and in all places, in season and out of season, by gentleness, by terror, by argument, by persuasion, by reason, by interest, by every motive and every inducement, he strove with unwearied assiduity, to turn men from the error of their ways, and awaken them to virtue and religion. To the bed of sickness, or the couch of prosperity; to the prison, the hospital, the house of mourning, or the house of feasting, wherever there was a friend to serve, or a soul to save, he readily repaired; to administer assistance or advice, reproof or consolation. He thought no office too humiliating, no condescension too low, no undertaking too arduous, to reclaim the meanest of God's offspring. The souls of all men were equally precious in his sight, and the value of an immortal creature beyond all estimation. He penetrated the abodes of wretchedness and ignorance, to rescue the profligate from perdition; and he communicated the light of life to those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death. He changed the outcasts of society, into useful members; civilized even savages, and filled those lips with prayer and praise, that had been accustomed only to oaths and imprecations. But as the strongest religious impressions are apt to become languid, without discipline and practice, he divided his people into classes and bands, according to their attainments. He appointed frequent meetings for prayer and conversation, where they gave an account of their experience, their hopes, and fears, their joys and troubles: by which means they were united to each other, and to their common profession. They became centinels upon each other's conduct, and securities for each other's character. Thus the seeds he sowed sprang up and flourished, bearing the rich fruits of every grace and virtue. Thus he governed and preserved his numerous societies, watching their improvement with a paternal care, and encouraging them to be faithful to the end.

“ But

" But I will not attempt to draw his full character, nor to estimate the extent of his labours and services. They will be best known when he shall deliver up his commission into the hands of his great Master." c

The following description of Mr. *Wesley's* person, will be agreeable to most readers now : and certainly will be more so, when those who personally knew him are removed to their eternal habitations.

" The figure of Mr. *Wesley* was remarkable. His stature was low : his habit of body in every period of life, the reverse of corpulent, and expressive of strict temperance, and continual exercise : and notwithstanding his small size, his step was firm, and his appearance, till within a few years of his death, vigorous and muscular. His face, for an old man, was one of the finest we have seen. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and most piercing that can be conceived, and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, and impressive of the most perfect health, conspired to render him a venerable and interesting figure. Few have seen him without being struck with his appearance : and many, who had been greatly prejudiced against him, have been known to change their opinion, the moment they were introduced into his presence. In his countenance and demeanour, there was a cheerfulness mingled with gravity ; a sprightliness, which was the natural result of an unusual flow of spirits, and yet was accompanied with every mark of the most serene tranquillity. His aspect, particularly in profile, had a strong character of acuteness and penetration.

" In dress, he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity. A narrow plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow gave an idea of something primitive and apostolic : while an air of neatness and cleanliness was diffused over his whole person."

## SECTION III.

*A short View of Mr. Wesley's Writings and Controversies, by Dr. Whitehead.*

**M**R. Wesley's writings, like his other labours, in the design and execution correspond with the general review of his character before given. He never wrote merely to please, or to get money. His object constantly was, to inform the understanding, and mend the heart: to discourage vice, and promote virtue. He never published any thing with a view to promote a party-spirit. A great degree of candour and liberality runs through all his publications; and in matters of mere speculation, he endeavoured to shew the necessity of *Christian* love, and mutual forbearance among those who differ in opinion. In his controversies, he combated opinions, not men. And this he did, in general, with great moderation. He maintained, that even right opinions, make but a small part of religion: that, a man may *hold the truth in unrighteousness*, and therefore perish with the greater condemnation. But, a man whose heart, from a living faith in *Christ* operating as a practical principle, is influenced to the love of God and man, and whose life is correspondent to it, cannot err dangerously, though he may hold some erroneous opinions. And he thought, that we ought to contend for this Christian temper and practice, much more earnestly, than for any speculative notions, not *essentially* necessary to obtain them. This made him earnest to contend for *practical* truth; and had a happy influence on all his writings.

I do not mean to enter into a critical review of Mr. Wesley's writings. I intend only to point out the chief of his own works, shew his design in publishing them, and how far the execution corresponds with the design. For if an author well and duly accomplishes all he undertakes, it is the utmost that ought to be expected from him.

The following is an abridgment of his own words, in explaining the general design he had in publishing his *Notes on the New Testament*. "It will be easily discerned—from the *Notes* themselves, that they were not principally designed for men of learning, who are provided with many other helps: but

but I write chiefly for plain unlettered men, who understand only their mother-tongue, and yet reverence and love the word of God, and have a desire to save their souls.

"I have endeavoured to make the Notes as short as possible, that the Comment may not obscure or swallow up the Text: and as plain as possible in pursuance of my main design, to assist unlearned readers. For this reason I have studiously avoided not only all curious and critical inquiries, and all use of the learned languages, but all such methods of reasoning and modes of expression, as people in common life are unacquainted with. For the same reason, as I rather endeavour to obviate than to propose and answer objections, so I purposely decline going deep into many difficulties, lest I should leave the ordinary reader behind me.

"I once designed to write down, barely what occurred to my own mind.—But no sooner was I acquainted with that great light of the Christian world, *Bengelins*, than I entirely changed my design, being thoroughly convinced, it might be of more service to the cause of religion, were I barely to translate his *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, than to write many volumes upon it. Many of his excellent Notes I have therefore translated: many more I have abridged. Those various readings which he has shewn to have a vast majority of ancient copies and translations on their side, I have without scruple incorporated with the text; which after *his* manner, I have divided (though not omitting the common division into chapters and verses) according to the matter it contains, making a larger or smaller pause, just as the sense requires. And even this, is such a help in many places, as one who has not tried it can scarcely conceive.—I am likewise indebted for some useful observations to Doctor *Heylin's Theological Lectures*: and for many more to Dr. *Guyse*, and to the *Family Expositor*, of the late pious and learned Dr. *Dodderidge*.—I cannot flatter myself so far as to imagine that I have fallen into no mistakes, in a work of so great difficulty. But my own conscience acquits me of having designedly misrepresented any single passage of Scripture, or of having written one line with the purpose of inflaming the hearts of Christians against each other. Would to God, that all party names, and unscriptural phrases and forms, which have divided the Christian world, were forgot: and that we might all agree to sit down together, as humble, loving disciples, at the feet of our common Master, to hear his word, to imbibe his Spirit, and to transcribe his life in our own."

After such a declaration as this in the Preface, the reader ought not to feel himself disappointed, if he find no deep and learned discussions of abstruse subjects in Mr. *Wesley's Notes*

on

on the New Testament. They are what he intended they should be, briefly explanatory and practical: but, at the same time, judicious and pertinent. I have sometimes thought, that if most of the very short Notes were inserted in the text by some judicious hand so as to form a paraphrase, and the rest to be retained, the work would be more useful to common readers than in its present form.—Mr. *Wesley's* Notes on the Old Testament, taken chiefly from *Henry*, and *Pride*, are not held in the same degree of estimation as those on the New Testament.

Mr. *Wesley's* sermons in eight volumes, were written in the same spirit, and with the same benevolent design as the Notes just mentioned. He tells us in the Preface, "I design plain truth for plain people. Therefore, of set purpose I abstain from all nice and philosophical speculations, from all perplexed and intricate reasonings; and as far as possible from even the shew of learning, unless in sometimes citing the original Scripture. Nothing appear here in an elaborate, elegant, or rhetorical dress. I mention this, that curious readers may spare themselves the labour of seeking for what they will not find." The first four volumes were written in the earlier part of Methodism; several of the sermons being preached before the University of *Oxford*, while he held his Fellowship. The subjects are important, and the discourses written with great animation and strength of language.

The last four volumes were written chiefly for the *Arminian Magazine*, and collected and re-published in 1788. These are generally more practical than the others; and have been admired for their composition, and for the simplicity, accuracy, and ease of the style in which they are written.

His "Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion," have great merit. The pious and learned Dr. *Dodderidge* intimates, that he read them with great emotion; and tells us, that having gone through them, he wrote on the back, "How forcible are *RIGUR WORDS*." Mr. *Wesley* wrote them in the fulness of his heart, viewing and lamenting the wretched state of the world with regard to religion and morality. It is almost impossible for any well disposed unprejudiced person to read them, without strongly feeling the force and justness of the observations they contain: and they have been the means of convincing some, even men of learning, who before were utterly opposed to the Methodists.

Mr. *Wesley's* Treatise on "Original Sin," is, perhaps, the most laboured performance that he published. He knew, and respected the abilities and character of Dr. *Taylor*, his opponent. He bestowed much time and attention in a careful investigation of the subject; but avoided entering into minute

minute metaphysical disquisitions. He knew that nothing could be affirmed in this way of reasoning, however true, but what another might deny with some degree of plausibility. His Treatise therefore is, an animated defence of the orthodox doctrine, in a deduction from the actual state of morality in all ages, and under every kind of restraint from evil that has been imposed on mankind; or as he expresses it, "From Scripture, reason, and experience." And if we may be allowed the same mode of reasoning in morals, which the most approved philosophers have adopted in explaining the system of the world; if, from an uniform series of facts, we may deduce a certain *principle* sufficient to account for them, then Mr. *Wesley* has proved his point beyond contradiction. It seems as if Dr. *Taylor* had felt the full force of this way of reasoning, as he never would answer Mr. *Wesley*, and always spoke of him with respect.

In none of his publications, are instruction and entertainment more happily combined, than in the work entitled, "A Survey of the Wisdom and Goodness of God in the Creation." This was first published in two volumes; and a Gentleman, then a student at *Oxford*, informed me, that taking a few copies with him, as presents to some of the principal persons in the University, they expressed a high degree of satisfaction in the work; and Mr. *Wesley* received letters from them to the same purpose. This work was afterwards enlarged, and published in five volumes, in 1784. In the fourth volume is a translation of a considerable part of *Bonnet's* "*Contemplations de la Nature*," a work highly elegant and instructive. Mr. *Wesley* could not have made a better choice, as it perfectly corresponds with the general design of his own publication. In the fifth volume, Mr. *Wesley* has given an extract of Mr. *Deuten's* "*Enquiry into the origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns*." This work was scarcely known in *England*, even to the learned, when Mr. *Wesley* published this extract from it: and is but little known at present. It is certainly ingenious, and contains a great deal of curious matter.

Mr. *Wesley's* Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation, was not intended as a history of the present state of philosophy; nor an introduction to the philosophical systems that have prevailed, or do now prevail, though he gives a little sketch of them; but as a general view of the most useful and remarkable things in natural history, and an illustration, for common use, of the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. "Considered in this light, it is well entitled to public approbation: and the moral reflections it contains, are as much distinguished by their justness and elegance, as by their utility."

utility." Upon the whole, it is the most useful *Christian* compendium of philosophy in the *English* language.

He wrote a very great number of pamphlets on various subjects: among the rest was one entitled, "Thoughts on Slavery." He was one of the earliest writers on this subject, which has since undergone so complete an investigation; without, as yet, obtaining for the slaves that redress which justice and mercy demand. He has treated it, as might be expected from his general character, in a moral and religious view; but with great spirit and impartiality, and the pamphlet does him great credit. It has been supposed, that this tract had a powerful influence on some of the *American* States, in their late regulations concerning the trade to *Africa*.

In controversy, Mr. *Wesley* did certainly excel. Few have equalled him; either in skill, freedom from logomachy, or in the moderation and Christian temper which every where appeared on these occasions. It does not seem, that he was fond of controversy, at least for more than thirty years before his death. He calls it in one place, if I rightly recollect, "Heavy work, yet sometimes necessary to be done." Among his controversial pieces, his "Predestination calmly considered," is of distinguished excellence. "It is a model of controversy, clear and cogent; concise and argumentative; and the more convincing, because the spirit in which it is written, is as amiable as the reasoning is unanswerable. Perhaps there is not in the *English* language, a treatise which contains in so small a compass, so full and masterly a refutation of the principle it opposes. It does great credit to his judgment, that he so eagerly espoused, and so ably defended the mild and moderate system of *Arminius*."

Mr. *Wesley* entered the list of controversy against Dr. *Lafington*, Bishop of *Exeter*; Dr. *Warburton*, Bishop of *Gloucester*; Dr. *Middleton*, Dr. *Free*, Dr. *Taylor*, of *Norwich*; and several others: in all of which he acquitted himself with honour, and gained credit to his cause. But the most virulent, vulgar, and abusive of his opponents, were some of the defenders of Calvinism; at the head of whom stood Mr. *Toplady*: a man, not wholly destitute of abilities, but, in his opposition to Mr. *Wesley*, greatly deficient in the Christian temper, and the manners of a gentleman.

Mr.

\* Few persons among the Calvinists, seem to have any just notions of the opinion of *Arminius*, on the subject of *Free Grace*; and therefore continually misrepresent it. Mr. *Wesley* was a true *Arminian*; and I have shewn in the Discourse delivered at his funeral, that he held the doctrine of *Free Grace*, as fully as any Calvinist, though in a more rational and scriptural sense.



Mr. *Wesley*, as an author, has been blamed for his numerous extracts from the writings of others. The fact is true; but the blame supposed, does not, I apprehend, attach to it. He supposed that the works from which he made extracts were the property of the public; and that the extracts he made might be useful to the Methodists, who probably would never see the originals. And further, he did not make his extracts in any clandestine way, or for the sake of lucre. All the profits of his books, only passed through his hands to the relief of the poor.

Mr. *Wesley's* works were printed together in 1774, in thirty-two volumes, in *London* (not including the *Philosophy*, or *Notes on the Old and New Testament*) but very incorrectly.\* He was a laborious and useful writer; and his name will descend to posterity, with no small share of respectability and applause. I shall conclude this section in the words of a writer of his life; "If usefulness be excellence; if public good is the chief object of attention in public characters; and if the greatest benefactors to mankind are most estimable, Mr. *John Wesley* will long be remembered as one of the best of men, as he was for more than fifty years, the most diligent and indefatigable."

## SECTION

\* During Mr. *Wesley's* life-time, and till 1801, the English Conference assisted the Methodist connexion in Ireland, in allowing yearly, a sum sufficient to defray the expences unavoidably incurred, by sending the Gospel into many parts of this island, where, from the poverty of its inhabitants, pecuniary aid could not be procured. The Works of Messrs. *Wesley*, *Fletcher*, and all other Books printed at the Conference Office, *London*, were regularly forwarded to Ireland for sale; from the produce thereof, the exigencies of each circuit were met. An alteration has since that period taken place; and by means of a subscription, made throughout the Methodists in Ireland, a Book-room has been established in *Dublin*, on a respectable footing, which now furnishes a considerable supply of all such Books as are in general use among this people.

It is with pleasure perceived, that great improvements have evidently been made, in the arranging and printing of the *Dublin* edition of Mr. *Wesley's* nine volumes of *Sermons*, which are now published in six; to each volume is prefixed a Table of Contents, the acquisition of which is obvious. His *Notes on the New Testament* have also been carefully printed on a good type and paper. The Methodist Magazine is likewise printed and published here; and the affairs of *Ireland* more fully detailed, to the great satisfaction of the Subscribers. It is sincerely to be hoped, that this Infant Establishment will meet general approbation and support; and that thereby light and religious knowledge will, by the blessing of God, be more fully diffused throughout our kingdom, by means of the METHODIST BOOK-ROOM.

## SECTION IV.

*Stating Mr. Wesley's Notions of the relative Situation of his Societies, to other religious Bodies of People in this Kingdom ; and of the true Character and Office of the Methodist Preachers.*

NO man could understand the nature and design of the Methodist societies so well as Mr. Wesley ; as he was the chief instrument in raising them, and governed them for more than forty years by rules which he himself made for that purpose. He has declared again and again, in the most express terms, that the design was not to form a new party in the nation ; not to form the societies into independent churches, or to draw away those who became Methodists, from their former religious connexions. The only intention was, to rouse all parties, the members of the church in particular, to a holy jealousy and a spiritual emulation ; and to assist them as far as possible, in promoting Christian experience, and practical religion through the land. The design was disinterested and noble ; and every part of the Methodist economy exactly corresponded with the professed design, which shewed the sincerity of Mr. Wesley's declarations. The Preachers were itinerant, which rendered them incapable, had they been otherwise qualified, of performing the duties of settled pastors to the societies : the times of preaching, and of other meetings, were so ordered, as not to interfere with the times of public worship in the Church, or among the Dissenters. The whole economy was formed, with wonderful consistency in all its parts, to be a blessing indiscriminately to all parties. While this economy remained inviolate, it was of wonderful use. It was highly pleasing to see rigid Churchmen, and equally rigid Dissenters of all denominations, assembled together in a Methodist preaching-house ; hearing the truths of the Gospel preached, and each feeling the beneficial influence of them on their own heart. This tended gradually to lessen their prejudices against each other ; and however they might still differ, as to modes of worship, it brought them nearer together in Christian charity

and brotherly-love. And every candid man must acknowledge, that since the Methodists have generally prevailed, the violence of party spirit, in matters of religion, has, in equal proportion been diminished. This relative situation of the societies, the members of which still held their former religious connexions, Mr. *Wesley* calls their *péculiar* glory. "It is a new thing (says he) upon the earth. Revolve all the histories of the Church from the earliest ages, and you will find, whenever there was a great work of God in any particular city or nation, the subjects of that work, soon said to their neighbours, '*Stand by yourselves, for we are hotter than you.*' As soon as ever they separated themselves, either they retired into deserts, or at least formed parties, into which none were admitted but such as subscribed both to their judgment and practice. But with the Methodists, it is quite otherwise, 'They are not a sect or party. They do not separate from the religious community to which they at first belonged. And I believe one reason why God is pleased to continue my life so long, is to confirm them in their present purpose; not to separate from the Church.'" See *Arminian Magazine* for 1790.

Mr. *Wesley* has very explicitly described, both the character and office of a Methodist Preacher, in a sermon which he sometimes preached at the Conference, before the Preachers then assembled: His text was, *Hebrews*, v. 4. *No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* In this discourse he has clearly shewn, that the office of a Priest, was totally distinct and separate from the office of a Preacher or expounder of God's word and will, sometimes called a *Prophet*. That from *Adam* to *Noah*; and from *Noah* to *Moses*, the first-born in every family was the *Priest*, by virtue of his primogeniture: but any other of the family might be a prophet, or expounder of God's will to the people. In the time of *Moses*, the priesthood was restricted to the tribe of *Levi*; while the Preachers or expounders of God's law, might be, and afterwards were of different tribes. In the New Testament, these expounders of the law, are called *ῥητορες*, or *Scribes*: but few, if any of them, were Priests.

The Lord Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest of our profession, sent out *Apostles*, and *Evangelists*, to proclaim the glad-tidings of peace to all the world. Afterwards, *Pastors* were appointed to preside over, and to build up in the faith, the churches that were formed. "But (says Mr. *Wesley*) I do not find, that ever the office of an *Evangelist*, was the same with that of a *Pastor*, frequently called a *Bishop*. I cannot prove from any part of the New Testament,

ment, or from any author of the three first centuries, that the office of an *Evangelist*, gave any man a right to act as a *Pastor* or *Bishop*. I believe these offices were considered as quite distinct from each other, till the time of *Constantine*."

Mr. *Wesley* then goes on to observe, that among the *Presbyterians*, in the Church of *England*, and even among the *Roman-Catholics*, the office of an *Evangelist*, or *Teacher*, does not imply that of a *Pastor*, to whom peculiarly belongs the administration of the sacraments. All *Presbyterian* churches, that of *Scotland* in particular, license men to preach throughout the whole kingdom, before they are ordained. And it is never understood that this appointment to preach, gives them any right to administer the sacraments. "Likewise (says he) in our own church, persons may be authorised to preach, yea, may be *Doctors* in Divinity, as *Dr. Atwood*, at *Oxford*, was when I resided there, who are not ordained at all; and consequently have no right to administer the *Lord's Supper*. Yea, even in the Church of *Rome* itself, if a *Lay-brother* believes he is called to go on a mission, as it is termed, he is sent out, though neither *Priest* nor *Deacon*, to execute that office, and not the other."

That there were itinerant Preachers in the *Primitive Church*, who travelled from place to place preaching the Gospel, without interfering with the duties of the established *Pastors*, does not admit of much doubt. We may venture to say, that one part of the *Methodist* economy approached nearer to this primitive practice, than any thing which has taken place in the *Christian Church* since the days of the *Apostles*. I have long been persuaded, that no religious establishment, whether national or otherwise, ever did, or ever will, keep up the original spirit of its institution without an *itinerant* ministry connected with it. This however is certain, that the Church of *England*, of which most of the *Methodists* are members, might have received a vast accession of strength from the labours of the *Methodist Preachers* among the middling and lower orders of the people, had the Rulers of that Church understood in time, how to have estimated them. At present it is not probable, that either the *Bishops*, or the *Clergy* in general, will know or believe what advantages they might have gained from the labours of the *Methodist Preachers* (if numbers of pious people be an advantage) till their losses have fully convinced them.

Notwithstanding Mr. *Wesley's* ordinations, it is manifest that he had no intention or wish, that the great body of the people should separate from the Church, or change their re-

lative situation to other denominations of Christians in the land. This appears evident from the following paper which he wrote in December 1789; and from the extracts from his last Journal, which I shall subjoin.

" 1. From a child I was taught to love and reverence the Scripture, the oracles of God: and next to these, to esteem the Primitive Fathers, the writers of the three first centuries. Next after the Primitive Church, I esteemed our own, the Church of *England*, as the most scriptural national Church in the world. I therefore, not only assented to all the doctrines, but observed all the rubric in the Liturgy: and that with all possible exactness, even at the peril of my life.

" 2. In this judgment, and with this spirit, I went to *America*, strongly attached to the Bible, the Primitive Church, and the Church of *England*, from which I would not vary in one jot or tittle on any account whatever. In this spirit I returned as regular a Clergyman as any in the three kingdoms: till after not being permitted to preach in the Churches, I was constrained to *preach in the open air*.

" 3. Here was my first *irregularity*. And it was not voluntary, but constrained. The second was *extemporary* prayer. This likewise I believed to be my bounden duty, for the sake of those who desired me to watch over their souls. I could not in conscience refrain from it: neither from accepting those, who desired to serve me *as sons in the Gospel*.

" 4. When the people joined together, simply to help each other to Heaven, increased by hundreds and thousands, still they had no more thought of leaving the Church than of leaving the kingdom. Nay, I continually and earnestly cautioned them against it: reminding them, that we were a part of the Church of *England*, whom God had raised up, not only to save our own souls, but to enliven our neighbours, those of the Church in particular. And at the first meeting of all our Preachers in Conference, in June 1744, I exhorted them to keep to the Church, observing, that this was our peculiar glory, Not to form any New Sect, but abiding in our own Church, to do to all men all the good we possibly could.

" 5. But as more Dissenters joined with us, many of whom were much prejudiced against the Church, these, with or without design, were continually infusing their own prejudices into their brethren. I saw this, and gave warning of it from time to time, both in private and in public. And in the year 1758, I resolved to bring the matter to a fair issue. So I desired the point might be considered at large, Whether it was expedient for the Methodists to leave the Church?

Church? The arguments on both sides were discussed for several days; and at length we agreed, without a dissenting voice, 'It is by no means expedient, that the Methodists should leave the Church of England.'

"6. Nevertheless, the same leaven continued to work in various parts of the kingdom. The grand argument (which in some particular cases must be acknowledged to have weight) was this: 'The minister of the parish wherein we dwell, neither lives nor preaches the Gospel. He walks in the way to Hell himself, and teaches his flock to do the same. Can you advise them to attend his preaching?' I cannot advise them to it. What then can they do, on the Lord's day, suppose no other Church be near? Do you advise them to go to a dissenting meeting? or to meet in their own preaching-house?' Where this is really the case, I cannot blame them if they do. Although therefore I earnestly oppose the general Separation of the Methodists from the Church, yet I cannot condemn such a partial Separation, in this particular case. I believe to separate thus far from these miserable wretches, who are the scandal of our Church and Nation, would be for the honour of our Church, as well as to the glory of God,

"7. And this is no way contrary to the profession which I have made above these fifty years. I never had any design of separating from the Church. I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more seen. I do and will do all that is in my power to prevent such an event. Nevertheless, in spite of all I can do, many of them will separate from it: (although I am apt to think not one half, perhaps not a third of them.) These will be so bold and injudicious as to form a separate party, which consequently will dwindle away into a dry, dull, separate party. In flat opposition to these, I declare once more, that I live and die a member of the Church of England: and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it.

JOHN WESLEY."

*Extracts from the late Reverend John Wesley's  
Last Journal.*

1786—July 25—Page 9. "Our Conference began at Bristol; about eighty Preachers attended. On Tuesday, in the afternoon, we permitted any of the society to be present: and

and weighed what was said about separating from the Church. But we all determined to continue therein, without one dissenting voice. And I doubt not but this determination will stand, at least till I am removed into a better world."

1786—August 25—Page 21. "I went to *Brentford*, but had little comfort there. The society is almost dwindled to nothing. What have we gained by separating from the Church here? Is not this a good lesson for others?"

1787—January 2—Page 26. "I went over to *Deptford*; but, it seemed, I was got into a den of lions. Most of the leading men of the society were mad for separating from the Church. I endeavoured to reason with them, but in vain; they had neither sense nor even good manners left. At length, after meeting the whole society, I told them, 'If you are resolved, you may have your service in Church hours. But remember! From that time you will see my face no more.' This struck deep; and from that hour I have heard no more of separating from the Church."

1787—Nov. 4—Page 85. "*London*: The congregation was, as usual, large and serious. But there is no increase in the society. So that we have profited nothing by having our service in Church hours; which some imagined would have done wonders. I do not know that it has done more good any where in *England*. In *Scotland* I believe it has."

1788—August 4—Page 122. "*London*. One of the most important points considered at this Conference was, That of leaving the Church. The sum of a long conversation was, 1st. That, in a course of fifty years, we had, neither premeditatedly nor willingly, varied from it in one article, either of doctrine or discipline. 2d. That we were not yet conscious of varying from it in any point of doctrine. 3d. That we have, in a course of years, out of necessity, not choice, slowly and warily varied in some points of discipline, by preaching in the fields, by extempore prayer, by employing lay-preachers, by forming and regulating societies, and by holding yearly Conferences. But we did none of these things till we were convinced we could no longer omit them but at the peril of our souls."

1789—July 9—Page 162. "Our little Conference began in *Dublin*, and ended Tuesday the 7th. On this I observe, 1st. I never had between forty and fifty such Preachers together in *Ireland* before: all of them we had reason to hope alive to God, and earnestly devoted to his service. 2d. I never saw such a number of Preachers before, so unanimous in all points, particularly as to leaving the Church, which

which none of them had the least thought of. It is no wonder that there has been this year so large an increase of the society."

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SECTION V.

A View of the Increase of the Methodists in Great-Britain and Ireland, for the last thirty years : with a few observations on the Influence of Methodism, by Dr. Whitehead.

THE increase of the Methodists, is much beyond the increase of any other denomination of Christians, which have ever appeared in this or any other country, since the days of the Apostles, not immediately supported by the State or Civil Power.

Curiosity has led many persons to conjecture, what could be the reasons of this rapid increase of Methodism. No doubt but several circumstances, by which the Methodists have been peculiarly distinguished from all other denominations of Christians, have had a considerable influence on their increase. Their being of no party, but holding a friendly relation to all : the itinerancy of the Preachers : their times of preaching : their class and band meetings, &c. &c. But the artless simplicity, the zeal and integrity, of the Preachers ; and their manner of preaching, have, under the blessing of God, had the most extensive influence on their affairs. They not only preached the grand truths of the Gospel, but they brought them home to every man's actual state and condition, however ignorant or wretched. They shewed the necessity of repentance to prepare the heart for Christ ; the necessity of faith in him, to be personally interested in the benefits of his death ; and then urged the necessity of going on to purity of heart, and holiness in all manner of conversation. They constantly spoke of these things in *this order*, and almost in every discourse. The people rapidly emerged out of darkness into light, learned how to judge of their own spiritual state, and of the degrees of Christian experience ; and by the influence of Divine grace, were happily led on through the different stages of the Christian life.

It

It is not necessary to add much on the general tendency of Methodism. This appears evident to every impartial observer. Methodism has had some influence in meliorating the spirit of controversy: it has diffused knowledge, and promoted industry and good order among the lower classes of the people: it has enlightened the most ignorant, and reformed the most wicked. These effects, through the blessing of God on the labours of the Preachers, have been so conspicuous in many parts of the kingdom, that the bitterest enemies of Methodism, have been forced to acknowledge them. In judging of the tendency of Methodism, we are not to look at the conduct of a few mistaken individuals, but at its general influence on the great body of the people. Thousands and tens of thousands of these, have been ornaments of their Christian profession; and have died rejoicing in God their Saviour: many tens of thousands are now running the Christian race set before them, endeavouring to be followers of the humble, holy Jesus. The Methodists are not *Angels*, but they are in general what they profess to be, pious Christians, striving to escape the pollutions that are in the world, and to save their own souls.—May Methodism be preserved in its *original* integrity: may any thing proved to be wrong in the general system, be corrected; and what is praise-worthy be established and improved: and may its beneficial influence on the people, extend wider and wider, till, *The whole earth be filled with His Glory*, who is the Author of all our mercies. *Amen.*

JOHN WHITEHEAD.

SECTION VI.

*Character of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, Extracted from
Dr. Hawes's Church History.*

BEFORE I quit this subject, it may be worth a moment's attention, to sketch a portrait of the two great characters * who

* He includes Mr. Whitefield.

who eminently contributed to this revival of religion among us. As both favoured me with their cordial regard, I have ever desired to give honour to whom honour is due, and hope never to be ashamed of the friendship of JOHN WESLEY.

JOHN WESLEY was of the inferior size, his visage marked with intelligence; singularly neat and plain in his dress; a little cast in his eye, observable on particular occasions; upright, graceful, and remarkably active. His understanding, naturally excellent and acute, was highly stored with the attainments of literature: and he possessed a fund of anecdote and history, that rendered his company as entertaining as instructive. His mode of address in public was chaste and solemn, and there was a divine simplicity, a zeal, a venerableness, in his manner, which commanded attention, and never forsook him in his latest years; when at fourscore he retained still all the freshness of vigorous old age. His health was remarkably preserved amidst a scene of labour and perpetual exertions of mind and body, to which few would have been equal. Never man possessed greater personal influence over the people connected with him. Nor was it an easy task to direct so vast a machine, where amidst so many hundred wheels in motion, some moved eccentrically, and hardly yielded to the impulse of the main spring. I need not speak of the exemplariness of his life, too many eyes were upon him to admit of his halting; nor could his weight have been maintained a moment longer, than the fullest conviction impressed his people, that he was an eminently favoured saint of God, and as distinguished for his holy walk, as for his vast abilities, indefatigable labour, and singular usefulness.

His enemies reviled him, and would if possible rob him of the meed of well-deserved honour, by imputing to him objects below the prize he had in view. Never was a more disinterested character; but he was a man, and he must have been more than man, if with the consciousness of his own devotedness, the divine blessing on his labours, and the high admiration, in which he was held by his followers, he had not sometimes thought of himself more highly than he ought to think. We exhibit no faultless monsters. Elias was a man of like passions as ourselves.

Mr. Wesley is gone to give an account of himself to his proper Judge, by whom I doubt not all his iniquity is pardoned, and his infirmities covered. And now that envy and enmity have been some time laid asleep in his grave, I rejoice in observing his character rise in general estimation,

and most highly respected by those who knew him best. It will now hardly be a question with any man, whether he would not rather have been *John Wesley*, who died not worth ten pounds, than *Larington*, Bishop of *Exeter*, who so bitterly reviled him.*

SECTION

* I cannot suppress an anecdote respecting this inveterate enemy of Methodists and Moravians. The author of this Character had been educated under the tuition of that venerable servant of Christ, Samuel Walker, minister of Truro. After studying at Oxford, intending to enter into holy orders, he applied to this bishop, with a testimonial from the country, signed by this apostolic labourer, Mr. Mitchel, rector of Verrian, and Mr. Penrose, vicar of Gluvias, men in the nearest intimacy with Mr. Walker, and clergymen of the first respectability in the diocese, but the bishop refused to countersign the testimonial, as "of men worthy of credit," and assigned as his reason, that this eminent saint of God "PREACHED FAITH WITHOUT WORKS!" It has been long since decided whose works have been found approved before the great Judge of quick and dead.

SECTION VI.

A LIST

OF THE

ITINERANT METHODIST PREACHERS,

Who have laboured in connexion with the

LATE REV. JOHN WESLEY,

AND WITH THE

METHODIST CONFERENCE.

FROM MYLES'S CHRONOLOGY, PUBLISHED IN 1802.

THE years inserted before the names denote the period when those Preachers commenced Itinerants. Those marked thus ¶ before the Christian name, were Clergymen of the Established Church before they united with the Methodists; and those marked thus § at the same place, were made Clergymen after their union with them. Those marked thus ° died in the work. Those marked thus † departed from it; some from the want of health, and some it is to be feared through a defect of zeal; but it would be impossible in all cases to tell the real cause: Let it be observed, that this mark does not imply moral guilt. Those marked thus ‡ were expelled. Those without a mark are now labouring with their brethren as Itinerants, or as Invalids, nearly worn out in the Lord's service. The date at the end of the names, shew the years when those Preachers died, when they desisted from travelling, or were expelled.

I have mentioned some very useful Local Preachers, because we are commanded to "give honour to whom honour is due," and they as a body have been, and are very numerous, and very useful in spreading the cause of Methodism.

N. B. A few Laymen assisted Mr. Wesley as Local Preachers before Itinerancy was established.

WILLIAM MYLES.

*The First Race of Methodist Preachers, from the
Year 1739 to 1765.*

1739. In this year the Methodist Itinerancy began.

¶ JOHN WESLEY, Father of the Work, having formed the first Society at Oxford in November 1739. He died 1791.

¶ CHARLES WESLEY, the first to whom the appellation of *Methodist* was given at Oxford, in 1729, during his brother's absence in Lincolnshire. He died 1788.

¶ GEORGE

|| GEORGE WHITEFIELD. The first of the Methodists that preached in the open air. He began that practice in Bristol, Sunday, March 25, 1739. He separated from Mr Wesley, but continued an Itinerant Preacher while he lived, and was at the head of the Calvinist Methodists. He died in America, 1770.

• • A		1760	Thos. Carlill *	1801	1751 P. Guier * (e)	78
1766 W. Allwood †	1764	61	Ben. Colly *	1767	56 R. Gillespy †	64
63 John Aulay †	88	61	J. Cockcroft * (d)	90	56 § Tho. Greaves †	66
65 Wm. Athman		62	Rt. Cofferdine		57 J. Glazebrook †	74
B		63	Is. Clough †	74	60 John Gibbs †	66
1742 Wm. Biggs †	1751	64	Js. Cotty †	80	61 Joseph Guilford *	77
43 J. Brown * (a)	59	64	§ Mosely Cheek †	69	62 Parson Greenwood	
43 J. Bennett †	51	64	Rd. Coates *	65	H	
43 Thos. Beard * (b)	44	D			1740 J. Hall (f) *	98
45 Cornelius Baf-		742	Wm. Darney *	1779	40 § Joseph Hum-	
table *	77	43	J. Downs *	74	phreys †	41
45 Rd. Thomas		44	Ed. Dunstan	53	41 § J. Haughton †	60
Bateman †	51	53	Mark Davis †	69	42 Is. Hardwick †	49
47 Ben. Beanland †	52	56	Js. Deaves †	68	43 Wm. Holmes *	47
51 Thos. Briscoe *	95	64	John Dillon	71	44 John Hodges †	50
54 Pen. Biggs †	62	65	Js. Demster †	75	45 J. Haime *	84
55 J. Brandon †	66	E			45 Sam Hitchens *	47
59 Dan. Burnstead †	75	1747	J. Edwards †	1754	45 T. Hitchens *	47
59 Wm. Bryant †	63	62	John Easton		45 Wm. Hitchens *	58
59 Rd. Blackwall *	67	62	John Ellis †	72	45 Ebenezer Hit-	
60 Isaac Brown		65	William Ellis †	73	chens * (g)	49
62 W. Brammah *	80	F			47 C. Hopper *	1802
63 Rd. Boardman *	83	1748	John Fisher †	62	47 Howel Harris †	1750
64 Js. Brownfield †	70	48	W. Fugill †	68	52 J. Hampson †	85
C		50	Mich. Fenwick *	97	52 Wm. Harris †	69
1740 J. Cennick †	42	55	J. Fenwick *	87	53 John Haugh-	
41 Alex. Coates *	65	57	J. Fletcher *	85	ton, jun. †	56
42 W. Crouch †	52	58	John Furze *	1800	54 Richard Hen-	
46 Jos. Cownley *	93	61	W. Freemantle †	1766	derton † (h)	71
48 Jonath. Catlow †	64	G			54 J. Hacking †	60
48 Ta. Colbeck * (c)	70	1742	Charles Caf-		54 Thos. Hanby *	97
52 W. Cabb †	64	per Greaves †	47		58 J. Husmer †	70
55 § Lawrence		44	Nich. Gilbert *	63	60 Thomas Hanson	
Coughlan †	65	45	W. Grimshaw *	63	61 John Heslop †	68
56 J. Catermole †	71	46	P. Greenwood *	67	61 Geo. Hudson †	80
56 Wm. Coward †	59	48	P. Gibbs †	49	64 John Helton †	77

(a) A Local Preacher in Newcastle

(b) He died in consequence of ill treatment received from mobs.

(c) A Local Preacher in Keighly Circuit.

(d) A Local Preacher in Rochdale.

(e) A Local Preacher in the county of Limerick. He came with his parents from the Palatinate in Germany, in the year 1707; being persecuted for being a Protestant.

(f) A Local Preacher in Bristol.

(g) A Local Preacher in Cornwall.

(h) He was father to the learned John Henderson. This extraordinary man was born in the county of Limerick in the year 1757. He began his studies at Kinswood School, and afterwards entered the University of Oxford, where he died in November 1788. There is a remarkable account of him in his funeral sermon, preached and published by the Rev. Mr. Agutter: also in the Arminian Magazine, for March 1793. He was kept seventeen days previous to interment. Two reasons

J			1753 J. Murray †	1774	1762 J. Richardson * 92
1743	Js. Jones †	1749	54 J. Murlin *	99	62 J. Robertshaw * 88
43	Herb. Jenkins †	53	57 A. Marher *	1800	61 F. Rankin † 87
44	Joseph Jones †	60	59 N. Manners †	1784	61 M. Rodda † 82
45	Samuel Jones †	51	59 J. Manners *	64	63 J. Ray † 70
46	§ Joan Jones †	67	60 F. Tayer †	67	65 F. Rouke † 70
47	John Jane *	50	61 J. Morgan *	82	S
52	Thos. Jolinton *	68	64 J. Malon		1741 R. Swindells * 1783
54	Peter Jacob *	81	65 W. Mincthorpe *	77	43 W. Shephard † 48
56	John Jolinton		N		44 J. Stocombe * 77
61	Fr. Ilherwood *	62	1741 J. Nelson *	1774	44 F. Scott * (s) 87
K			57 Js North * (m)	99	46 W. Sturt † 51
1749	T. Knight † (i)	62	61 T. Newall †	80	47 F. Stocombe * 59
50	Thos. Keat *	62	O		49 C. Shelton * 54
52	Js. Ke. Shaw †	67	1746 Js. Oddie †	1771	54 S. Staniforth * (p)
L			53 T. Olvera *	99	1799
1743	S. Larwood †	1754	58 J. Oldham *	69	55 J. Scholefield † 57
47	Henry Lloyd * *	99	60 J. Oliver †	34	62 G. Story
48	Thomas Lee *	87	64 W. Orpe †	68	61 J. Shaw * 93
54	Richard Lucas *	74	P		65 F. Simpson † 84
56	M. tin. Lowes *	95	1742 § W. Prior †	1753	65 Js. Stephens † 72
60	§ W. Ley †	63	54 § H. Piers †	49	T
63	Sam. Levick *	72	44 § V. Perronett *	85	1742 David Taylor † 46
65	Js. Longbot-		47 J. Pearce †	52	43 J. Trembath † 60
tom †	70		51 R. Pearce * (n)	98	43 D. Tratham † 51
M			55 C. Perronett *	76	44 § S. Taylor * 50
1740	§ T. Max-		55 E. Perronett †	60	45 Elias Told * (q) 78
field † (k)	1763		59 J. Pool *	1801	46 Jof. Tucker † 60
40	§ C. Manning †	54	59 W. Pennington *	1767	46 W. Tucker † 60
42	J. Matden †	56			49 J. Turner † 63
42	H. Millard * (i)	46	62 J. Pawson		50 T. Tobias * 67
42	§ T. Merick †	50	64 P. Price †	68	57 W. Thompson * 99
43	§ J. Meriton †	47	65 Jof. Palmore †	85	58 Js. Thwaite † 63
45	§ Rd. Mofs †	52	R		58 § G. Tizzard † 62
48	James Morris †	56	1740 § T. Richards †	59	59 Jof. Thompson
48	Sam Meggott *	64	48 W. Roberts †	60	61 T. Taylor
48	T. Mitchel *	84	42 § J. Reeves †	60	65 B. Thomas † 61
49	J. Maskew †	57	49 J. Rowel *	84	W
50	Js. Morgan *	72	57 W. Rodd *	61	1740 T. Westall * 1794
51	John Mouey †	67	59 R. Roberts *	1800	41 § T. Williams † (r)
51	Js. Mafflott *	58	60 G. Roe †	1766	1751

were assigned for this, 1. There was no sign of putrefaction except on his left hand.
2. The Collegians wished to dissect his brain. Three days after he was buried his father had his grave opened. His appearance was still the same, but no sign of life. He was an only child, and his father never recovered the shock occasioned by his death. He was brought from Oxford, and buried at King'swood near Bristol.

(i) He was a Local Preacher in the Halifax Circuit.

(k) The first Layman that set out as an Itinerant Methodist Preacher.

(l) The first that died in the work. He died in Bristol of the small pox. He was a useful good man.

(m) A Local Preacher near Leeds.

(n) A Local Preacher in Wiltshire.

(o) A Local Preacher in Wakefield.

(p) A Local Preacher in London.

(q) A Local Preacher in London, remarkably useful to condemned malefactors.

(r) He had been excluded, August 2, 1744, in Bristol; but was re-admitted upon his repentance. Afterwards he was ordained in the Church.

742 J. Wheatley †	1754	1745 R. Williamson †	1751	1764 J. Whitehead †	1769
42 En. Williams *	44	46 E. Wills †	50	65 D. Wright *	91
44 J. Walker †	53	47 J. Wild †	60	65 R. Walth †	73
44 T. Wiles †	48	50 T. Walth *	59	65 S. Woodcock †	76
45 E. Webster †	51	60 I. Waldron *	82	65 W. Winby *	72
45 J. Whitford †	54	63 W. Whitwell *	67		

These names added together make 220. The whole of these acted as public characters among the Methodists during the first twenty-five years of their itinerancy. Some for a longer and others for a shorter period, some in a greater and others in a lesser sphere. 1. As the Circuits (or Rounds as they were then called) were very extensive, the Preachers were almost constantly travelling; and living in the friends' houses. They were greatly beloved by the people, who were witnesses of their piety, both in public and private. 2. As a body they were not very learned, their unremitting labours did not admit of much improvement, though in this respect some of them however were possessed of considerable learning. In general, they were men of sound experience, and mighty in the Scriptures. 3. Their being so often absent from their families, together with their incessant labours, occasioned many of them to desert from travelling.

*The Second Race of Methodist Preachers, from the Year
1766 to 1790.*

A		1771 J. Bristol †	1777	1785 James Byron	
1766 J. Allen		71 J. Brettal *	96	85 W. Claghorne	
67 F. Ashbury		72 J. Broadbent *	95	86 George Baldwin	
76 R. Arncliffe †	1788	74 Jer. Brettal		86 John Barrett	
		74 J. Barry *	83	86 John Beaumont	
78 J. Accutt †	85	74 S. Bradburn		86 Samuel Bates	
78 J. Abraham †	83	75 J. Beanland *	98	86 T. Broadbent †	99
80 Jos. Akar		75 Hugh Brown †	77	86 William Branwell	
81 Charles Atmore		76 G. Brown		86 William Black	
82 Gust. Armstrong		76 W. Boothby *	1801	87 D. Barrowclough	
83 Jos. Armstrong		77 J. Blades †	1779	87 John Burhett *	88
83 W. Adamson †	86	78 Andrew Blair *	93	87 John Black *	90
86 John Atkins		78 Jonath. Brown		89 W. Brandon †	91
87 Francis Armstrong		78 R. Blake †	84	90 John Braithwaite	
89 James Anierfon		79 George Button		90 John Boyle †	1802
90 William Aver		79 John Booth		90 Joseph Burges	
B		79 Thomas Barber		90 Thomas Brown	
1766 R. Burke *	1778	80 Rt. Bridge †	90	90 William Brazier	
66 W. Barker †	80	81 John Barber		C	
67 W. Buckingham †		81 James Rogie		1767 T. Cherry *	1772
	1770	82 Samuel Bots		67 W. Collins *	97
68 R. Bell †	69	82 T. Bartholomew		68 Jon. Crowle †	76
68 Samuel Bardsky		83 Charles Bond †	93	70 R. Caddock †	73
69 John Biedin		83 E. Barbeck *	88	72 J. Christian †	77
69 T. Barnes †	70	84 Rt. Carr Bracken-		74 I. Corbett *	89
70 Jos. Bradford		bury		75 John Crook	
71 W. Raven *	77	84 W. Butterfield *	95	75 J. Coddson †	80
71 Char. Foon *	95	85 Charles Bland		76 Richard Cundy	
71 Jos. Benson		85 John Baxter		76 J. Thomas Coke	

1777 W. Church † 1790	1781 Thomas Ellis † 1790	1776 J ^s Hall † 1798
79 J ^s . Christie * 99	81 Sam. Edwards † 88	76 J. Harrison * 77
80 J. Crickett	86 James Evans	76 T. Hoskins * 78
80 J ^{os} . Cole	86 Jonath. Edmonson	77 J ^s John Hamp-
80 Jonathan Cuffins	87 J ^{os} . Untwistle	son, jun. † 85
81 Thomas Cooper	88 Thos. Elliott * 94	77 J. Howe † 89
82 Adam Clarke	90 Richard Elliott	79 Robert Hopkins
83 J. Cowmedow * 87	F	80 S. Hodgson * 95
83 John Crosby	69 J ^{os} Fothergill † 1790	81 Philip Hardcastle
84 J ^s . Creighton	70 John Floyd † 82	82 George Holder
84 Jonathan Crowther	75 P. Ferguson † 76	82 W. Hoskins † 89
84 John Clark † 91	74 John Francis † 75	82 W. Holmes
84 Rich. Cornish * 96	80 Henry Foster * 87	1783 T. Hethering-
84 Tim. Crowther	85 W. Fish	ton † 98
85 And. Coleman * 86	86 F. Frazier * 89	84 J ^s Mel. Horne † 87
86 W. Cowen † 87	88 John Furnace	84 W. Hammett † 91
87 J ^{os} . Crofs † 1800	90 Thomas Fearnley	85 W. Hunter, jun.
87 T. Crofsley † 1788	90 Wm. Ferguson	86 George Highfield
89 Robert Crowther	90 Wm. Franklin † 96	86 J. Harper † 98
89 William Cox	G	86 William Heath
90 John Crofs † 96	68 John Goodwin	87 J. Holmes † 89
D	68 J. Garnett * 1771	87 George Hender-
1766 T. Dancer † 1767	74 Geo. Guthrie † 78	son † 83
68 John Duncan † 72	76 J ^s . Gaffney * 79	87 Robert Harrison
69 Thomas Dixon	78 Wm. Gill † 79	87 T. Hewit * 1801
72 Robert Dall	80 George Gibbon	88 Andrew Hamilton
72 Robert Davis † 83	80 W. Green † 96	88 John HicMin
73 W. Dufton † 92	82 J. Glascott † 83	88 William Hamilton
74 And. Delap † 79	84 Walter Griffithh	89 Andrew Hamil-
77 Peter Dean † 78	85 John Gaultier	ton, jun.
79 Thomas Davis	85 R. Gamble * 91	89 Thomas Hutton
80 George Dice † 86	86 D. Gordon * 1800	90 John Hurley * 1801
80 Simon Day	86 James Gore * 1790	90 Jas. Hurley † 1792
84 J ^s R. Dillon † 87	86 John Grace	90 R. Harrison, jun.
85 John Dinnen	86 John Gilles † 98	90 Thomas Harrison
85 John Dequetteville	86 Thomas Gill	90 Wm. Hainsworth
87 John Darragh	86 Mic. Griffithh † 87	I
87 Peard Dickenson * 1802	87 Samuel Gates	67 T. Jones * 1771
88 Rich. Drew † 1792	88 D. Graham * 94	77 Edward Jackson
88 Thos. Dunn * 1802	90 Charles Graham	78 Daniel Jackson
88 Thomas Dobson	90 Edward Gibbon	80 And. Inglis † 93
89 G. Donovan † 1794	90 John Graham	81 James Jordan
89 John Denton	90 T. Greaves † 97	81 John Ingham † 86
89 Owen Davis	90 John Grant	83 J ^{os} . Jerom † 98
89 W. Dieude † 97	H	83 Matthias Joyce
90 Blakely Dowling	66 Lancelot Harrison	83 Robert Johnson
90 John Dean	66 T. Holiday † 1786	85 J ^s T. Jones † 90
90 W. Denton * 96	66 J. Marmer † 72	87 And. Jeffries † 90
90 John Doncaster	67 Joseph Harper	87 W. Jouylin † 83
E	67 W. Hunter * 98	87 W. Johnson † 94
1769 David Evans † 1783	67 W. Harty † 70	87 William Jrdop
71 Robert Empring-	68 Robert Howard	88 William Jenkins
ham * 92	69 J ^s . Hudson † 77	89 James Irwin
71 Thos. Eden † 72	69 Jonathan Hern † 91	K
72 W. Ellis † 88	70 William Horner	74 Ar. Kerhaw † 1775
80 Edw. Evans † 82	71 J ^s . Hindmarsh † 83	80 John Keigley * 88
	73 Rd. Hunt † 74	82 John Kerr

1783 John King
83 Lawrence Kane
84 Charles Kyte
85 Al. Kilham † 1796
86 Step. Kelfhall † 87
86 Duncan Kay
87 Thomas Kerr
88 John Kershaw
88 Thomas Kelk

L

1772 W. Linnell † 1773
73 John Leach
74 W. Leicester * 77
74 Rt. Lindfay † 88
76 W. Lumley * 77
78 J. Livermore * 83
80 Thomas Longley
81 Matthew Lum
86 Theo. Leffey
87 Benjamin Leggatt
88 George Lowe
88 James Lyons † 92
88 Nehuchadnezzar
Lee † 91
89 Robert Longs
90 James Lawton † 97
90 James Lyons,
jun. † 96
90 Isaac Lilly

M

1766 Alex. M'Nah † 1783
67 John Mayor † 70
69 John M'Neefe † 72
69 Thomas Mott * 73
70 George Movat
70 John M'Aron † 73
70 Ml. M'Daniel * 75
72 J. M'Burney * 79
72 W. Martin * 75
73 Joseph Moore † 79
73 Michael Moore-
house † 86
74 John Moon * 1801
74 Wm. Moore † 1785
74 Peter Mill
75 Duncan M'Allum
76 J. Mayley * 88
77 Hugh Moore † 90
77 William Myles
78 William M'Cor-
nock * 89
79 Henry Moore
79 S. Mitchell † 91
80 J. Millar * 96

1784 James M'Donald
84 J. M'Cadint † 86
84 J. M'Kerfey * 1800
86 Abraham Mofely
88 John Marth
86 J. M'Geary † 93
86 S. Moorhead
87 James Mann
87 J. Milcomson
87 Ml. Marshall * 94
87 Wm. M'Cornock
88 Alex. Moore
88 J. M'Mullin * 1804
88 Michael Murphy
88 Robert Miller
89 James M'Quigg
89 R. M'Cay † 1790
89 Miles Martindale
90 Arch. Murdock
90 J. M'Vean † 97

N

70 Stephen Ni-
cholls † 1771
78 J. Morris * 82
78 Robert Naylor * 83
89 John Nelson
20 Booth Newton
O
82 John Oxyvie
83 Thomas Owens

P

66 Marmaduke
Pawson * (a) 1798
67 John Peacock
68 S. Proctor † 82
69 Wm. Pitt † 72
70 J. Perfect † 75
71 John Pritchard
71 Nehemiah Pricet † 90
71 W. Plowes * (b) 97
72 John Price
72 T. Payne * 83
73 Wm. Percival
73 J. Pickard * 84
76 Joseph Pefcod
81 C. Peacock * 86
82 Jonathan Parkin
84 Pen. Pearce * 95
84 William Patner
85 J. Phillips † 86
87 Hugh Pugh * 89
87 Geo. Phillips † 89
88 Rd. Philips † 89
89 Thos. Patterson

1790 John Pipe
R

66 Ben. Rhodes
67 Thos. Ryan † 91
69 Richard Rodda
72 J. Roberts * 88
72 Thos. Rutherford
72 James Rogers
73 Geo. Roberts † 74
73 S. Randal † 84
74 Jasp. Robinson * 98
74 Henry Robins † 84
75 Wm. Roots † 76
80 T. Readshaw † 83
83 James Renwick
85 John Ramshaw † 95
85 James Ridel
86 John Reynolds
86 Thomas Roberts
87 Richard Reece
88 John Ryle
88 Thos. Rogerfon
89 Thos. Ridgeway
90 Thos. Robinson * 93

S

66 J. Stranding * 71
67 John Smith * 73
68 George Shadford
68 Hugh Sanderson † 77
68 Richard Seed † 96
69 George Snowden
69 Samuel Smith † 82
70 Edward Slater † 76
70 Robert Swan
72 Wm. Severn † 78
73 Geo. Shorter * 79
74 Ed. Sweeny † 75
74 Francis Smith † 75
75 Joseph Sanderson
76 Jas. Skinner † 82
77 Ed. Smyth † 84
77 Isaac Shearing * 78
77 William San'ers
79 Alexander Suter
79 William Simpson
80 Thos. Shaw † 93
82 Robert Scott † 90
84 Vince Sellar † 85
85 John Smith
86 Joseph Sutcliffe
86 Thomas Smith † 88
85 Thomas Seeward * 78
86 William Stephens
87 John Stamp

(a) A Local Preacher near Leeds.

(b) A Local Preacher near Leeds.

1787 John Sandoe	85 Rd. Thorpeby †	87	72 James Wood
87 Sanders	87 Francis Truscott		73 John Wiltshaw
88 John Stephens* 1789	88 Charles Tunnycliff		74 John Whitely † 1779
88 John Stevenson	88 H. Taylor †	98	76 Rd. Watkinson* 93
88 Matthew Stewart	89 Jonathan Thomp-		78 Nath. Ward † 85
88 Robert Smith	son *	90	78 Thos. Warrick
88 Robert Smith* 1801	90 Samuel Taylor		79 Geo. Waane *
88 Wm. Sanderfon	90 Thos. Trgthewey		79 John Walker †
88 Wm. Stephen-	U		79 Wm. Warrenner
son †	1770 J. Underhill †	1777	80 William West
89 Wm. Shelmerdine	V		81 James Wray* 93
89 Wm. Sanders	1775 John Valton*	1794	81 James Walker †
89 J. Sanderfon* 1801	75 Thomas Vasey		81 James Wilton †
89 Robert Smith, jun.	85 T. Verner †	91	85 George Whitefield
89 William Smith	W		85 Peter Walker †
90 George Skerirt	1766 (a) T. Webb* 1796		86 James Williams† 87
90 George Sykes	67 John Wittam		87 John Woodrow
90 John Simpson	68 Christo. Watkins		88 John West †
90 Samuel Steel	68 Francis Wolfe †	81	88 Thomas Wood
90 Thos. Simeonite	68 Thomas Wide		88 Jasper Winfe-
T	69 Francis Wrigley		combe *
1770 T. Tennant* 1793	69 Richard Whatcoat		88 Mark Willes* 95
71 Thos. Tatton †	69 Rt. Wilkinfon*	81	88 Thos. Wymont †
74 Wm. Tunney †	69 Samuel Wells*	80	88 William Wilson
74 Wm. Thom †	69 Wm. Whitaker*	97	89 Samuel Wood
77 Joseph Taylor	70 G. Wadsworth*	94	89 Thos. Werrill* 92
81 Thos. Tattershall	70 James Warfon		90 Thomas White-
81 James Thom	70 Rd. Wright†	77	head †
85 William Thorby	70 Rt. Williams*	75	Y
86 John Townsend	71 John Warfon †	85	79 Zechariah Yewdall
6 J. Tregothat †	72 John Watfon, jun.		
90			

These names added together make 470; some of them acted but a very short time in a public character among the Methodists. But compared with the former period of twenty-five years, the increase of Preachers and consequently of people was very great; especially when it is considered, that I have not noticed those who were raised up in the United States of America, wherein Methodism had been established since the year 1769. Of these Preachers it may be remarked: 1. They loved study; they improved themselves in various branches of learning; hence their knowledge was more extensive than their predecessors. 2. As the people increased, the circuits were contracted, the Preachers studied economy, and were more at home with their families. 3. As they did not travel so much, nor remove, in general, oftener than once in two years from one circuit to another, they became more known to the people at large, and less persecuted.

(a) An officer in the army, and a very useful Local Preacher, generally known among the Methodists by the name of Captain Webb.

*The Third Race of Methodist Preachers, from the Year 1791,
to 1804.*

A		
1791 Henry Anderson	1791 John Cooper	1791 John Foster
91 Wm. Armstrong	91 John Clark † 1799	91 William Fenwick
92 Samuel Alcorn	91 Patrick Caley	93 Daniel Fiddler
94 James Alexander	91 Robert Crozier	94 John Furnace
94 John Ashall	61 James Crabb † 57	97 John Farrer
94 Joseph Anderson 1803	94 John Cook * 95	98 Robert Finney
94 Richard Andrews	95 John Clegg	99 John Foster, jun.
95 Asam Averill	95 Joseph Cook * 95	99 Joshua Fielding
96 Thomas Akerhead	95 Joseph Collier	1800 John Foster
97 Wm. Atherton	95 John Clandinnen	1802 Richard Fisher
98 Wm. Ayre	97 Arch. Campbell	1802 William France
99 Sol. Ashton † 1812	97 Francis Collins	1802 John Foster
99 W. Aprichard * 1801	97 James Carter	G
1790 John Anderson	97 John Cheadle	1792 Richard Gowcr
1802 Thomas Ashton	98 Daniel Campbell	93 Charles Gloyne
B		
1791 Thomas Black	99 Marshall Claxton	93 Robert Green * 1800
91 James Buckley	1800 David Coe	93 William Grandine
91 James Bell *	1800 John Cooper	95 Charles Greenly
91 James Bayde	1801 Isaac Clayton	95 James Gill
92 Abra. Bishop * 1794	D	98 George Gillead
92 F. Ballian * 1801	1791 George Deverall	98 George Gilliard
92 Joseph Bowes	92 George Dermott	98 John Gisburn
92 James Bridgnell	92 Matthias Dice † 94	98 Thomas Gee
94 John Price † 1800	92 Rt. Dougherty † 96	99 Philip Garrett
92 Robert Banks	93 George Douglas	99 William Gulpin
92 W. Brown † 1795	91 Joseph Drake	1800 Benj. Gregory
93 Jonathan Barker	95 Mark Daniel	James Gastrell
91 John Brownell	94 Thos. Dumbleton	W. Gamble * 1801
91 Glenham Beech † 96	95 John Dutton * 1800	2 Thomas Graham
95 Joseph Brookhouse	96 William Douglas	H
95 Thomas Blanchard	97 David Deakins	1791 Jos. Hinnen † 1792
96 James Burley	98 Joh Davis	92 Rt. Harper † 93
96 John Birdfall	99 Henry Deary	92 Richard Hardacre
96 Thomas Booth	1800 Peter De Pontavice	93 John Hudson
97 Wm. Bulpitt	1801 Philip Debell	93 W. Harrison † 1802
99 Jabez Hunting	1802 John Davis	94 Arthur Hutchynson
1790 John Bagnell	1802 Francis Deery	94 John Hamilton
1800 John Kirkenhead	1802 John Draper	94 S. Harris * 1796
1800 Joseph Pocock * 1801	E	94 T. Hemmings * 69
1800 Robert Bailey	1791 Michael Emmitt	94 Theo. Harding
1800 William Bennett	91 William Earley	94 William Hicks
1801 John Bryan	92 Stephen Ever-	94 William Howarth
1801 Isaac Brannock	field † 1797	96 Josiah Huil
1801 William Barr	93 James Ellis	96 John Hughes
1802 John Brown	95 Richard Emmitt	96 John Hagan
C		
1791 Alexander Cum-	95 Thomas Edman	96 Peter Haslem
mins † 1797	95 Thomas Edwards	96 Thomas Hallett
F		
1791 Benjamin Fizler	1791 Benjamin Fizler	97 Francis Halliet
91 John Fury † 1792	91 John Fury † 1792	97 John Hodgson

1797 William Henshaw
 98 Edward Hare
 98 John Hawkshaw
 99 Richard Harrison
 99 John Heywood
 99 Joseph Hallam
 1800 John Hearnshaw
 1801 Edward Higgins
 1801 Joseph Harrison
 1801 Moses Hooks
 1802 George Hanbrow
 1802 John Howe
 1802 William Harrison
 J
 1791 James Jay
 93 Thomas Ingham
 94 John Jones
 94 Thomas Isham
 94 William Jeffop
 95 J. Jennings * 1800
 97 Francis Jeune * 1800
 97 Thomas Johnson
 97 William Jenkin
 98 Digory Joll
 98 Robert James
 98 William Johnson
 99 Wm. Jackson
 1800 Daniel Isaac
 1800 Jonas Jagger
 1800 Josiah Jackson
 1802 Edward Jones
 K
 1791 John Kingston
 91 Cleland Kirkpatrick
 92 Joseph Kyte
 95 Lawrence Keane
 91 John Knowles
 99 Joseph Kitcher
 99 Samuel Kettle
 99 Thomas Keys
 99 William Kind
 1802 Lawrence Kershaw
 L
 1792 Thomas Linnay
 93 Isaac Lunford
 93 Leonard Ledbrook † 1796
 94 Matthew Lanktree
 95 John Leppington
 96 Thomas Laycock
 96 William Little
 99 James Lowrey
 99 William Leech
 1800 William Lockwood
 1801 Thomas Lougheld
 M
 1791 Henry Mahy

1791 John Mac Farland
 91 William Mahy
 92 George Morley
 92 John Mac Arthur
 92 Isaac Muff
 92 Thomas Mac *
 Clellan † 1796
 92 W. Martin * 95
 93 Duncan Mac Coll
 93 George Maidsen
 93 James Mori † 96
 93 James Mac Kee
 94 Archibald Montgomerie * 1800
 94 Edward Millward
 94 And. Mayor † 1802
 94 D. Mac Mullen
 94 J. Mac Keown
 94 William Moulton
 96 Charles Mayne
 97 B. Mac Donald *
 97 Chas. Martin * 1799
 97 John Moses * 1801
 97 R. Merritt † 99
 97 Wm Mac Allum
 98 John Moore † 1802
 98 Nicholas Manger
 98 William Midgeley
 99 Edward Miller
 1800 George Mahon
 1800 John Mercer
 1800 Joshua Maidsen
 1800 Joseph Morrison
 1800 Page Mitchell
 1800 G. Mac Elwain
 1800 John Mac Adam
 1800 Joseph Meek
 1800 John Maurice
 1800 James Mac Cutchan
 1802 Charles Mac Cord
 N
 1799 James Needham
 99 Robert Newton
 1801 John Nesbitt
 1802 William Naylor
 O
 1796 Gideon Outley
 1800 Thomas Olivant
 1802 James Orren
 P
 1791 Richard Pattison
 93 James Penman
 93 John Philips
 94 Thomas Parson
 94 Wm. Pearson
 94 Wm. Pearson, jun.
 M m 2

1794 Wm. Patten † 1798
 95 Daniel Pedlow
 96 Humphry Parson
 98 Geo. Pindar † 1800
 98 Thomas Preston
 98 Thomas Pattison
 99 Thomas Pinder
 1800 Wm. Pearson
 1802 Thomas Poulter
 R
 1791 John Regan
 92 Joseph Robins
 94 Francis Russell
 95 Thomas Rough
 98 J. Richard-son * 1799
 99 James Ratcliffe
 99 John Reynolds, jun.
 99 Thomas Rogers
 99 John Rossell
 99 Marmaduke Revill
 1800 Hugh Ranon
 1800 Wm. Robertson
 1801 Wm. Radcliffe
 1802 George Russell
 1800 James Rutledge
 1802 John Remington
 S
 1792 George Smith
 92 James Stewart
 92 James Smyth
 92 John Stephens
 92 Robert Smith
 93 Anthony S.ckerston
 93 Edmund Shaw
 93 G. Stevenson
 93 J. Schofield
 94 Caleb Simmonds
 94 Thomas Stanton
 94 John Stuart
 95 Alex. Sturgeon
 95 Thos. Stanley
 96 Hans Shrouder
 96 John Sydferff
 96 Thomas Shaw, jun. * 1801
 96 Wm. Sturgeon
 97 Henry Stead † 1798
 97 Jacob Stanley
 98 Thomas Slinger
 99 John Black
 99 Joseph Blake-peare * 1800
 1800 Robert Shipley
 1800 William Stewart
 1801 James Sterling
 1802 James Scholefield

1801 John Story	1801 Zecharias Taft	1797 George White* 1801
1802 Robert Strong	1802 Henry Taft	97 John Warmley
T	1801 Edward Thompson	97 John White † 1801
1791 F. Thorlaby † 1797	V	97 John Waters † 1798
91 Matthew Tobias	1795 Martin Vaughan	97 Samuel Woolmer
92 Richard Trefry	97 J. Vipond* 1799	98 Thomas Wilton
93 Joseph Telford	97 Wm. Vipond	98 William Wellburne
94 Edward Towler	1801 Thomas Vasey, jun.	99 John Watson, jun.
94 Edward Turner	W	99 Richard Wintle
94 Richard Thompson † 1802	1791 John Ward	1800 David Waugh
94 Wm. Timperly	91 Stephen Wilton	1800 Henry Webb † 1801
95 Wm. Turton	93 Benjamin Wilton	1801 John Williams
96 Andrew Taylor	93 Francis West	1801 Maximilian Wilton
96 James Townley	93 John Williams	1801 Robert Wheeler
97 John Tozer † 1801	93 Richard Waddy	1801 Valentine Ward
97 Edward Turner	95 John Wood	1802 Samuel Warren
98 Isaac Turton	96 Cuthbert Whitefides	1802 John Wilton, jun.
98 John Taylor	96 Richard Wat-son † 1801	1802 Henry Webb
98 Wm. Towler	96 Wm. Williams	Y
1801 W. Trampcasure	96 Zechariah Worrel	1793 Thomas-Yates

SECTION VIII.

A List of the Preaching Houses in the Methodist Connexion in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the year 1802, taken from Myles's Chronology.

AT the Conference in the year 1775, it was for the first time proposed, that no Preaching-houses should be built, unless two thirds of the money were subscribed, and it agreed to by the Conference. This was done in order to put a check to building, as some houses had been erected imprudently.

It was therefore mentioned in the yearly minutes, the houses that were to be built and the places where they stood, until the year 1790; when Mr. Wesley referred all matters relative to building to a Committee appointed for that purpose. But, as there were many Preaching-houses built before that period, and many since; and some built during that period, which were never published in the minutes, it would be impossible to form a correct list from the yearly minutes.

I have

I have therefore in forming this list of the Preaching-houses, (the first that was ever taken, and now published a second time with great additions) inserted the counties alphabetically, and have put down in each county, or shire, the Preaching-houses which are therein, with the year in which they were built, so far as I could learn it from the minutes, and other sources of information. By this means, a probable idea may be formed of the counties where Methodism has flourished most. I have put down no houses but those which are wholly appropriated to the worship of God; many of them are but small, but others are large and very commodious

BEDFORDSHIRE.		Middlewick	1804	Kenneggy-downs	1798
Bedford	1763, 1804	Northwich	1775	Key or Trethowell	94
Beefon crofs	1780	Norley	81	Kelliland	93
Bigglesworth	95	Nantwich	86	Kearley	70
Duntstable	89	Neston	90	Leskeard	76
Eaton Pray	95	Stockport	66	Looe	90
Luton	78	Wimflow	98	Lelant	66
Market-Street	99	Winsford	1803	Lelant County	92
Tenstord	84	Holbrook	1803	Laddock	88
		Brightlandsea	1804	Lofthwithell	90
				Little-Collen	91
BERKSHIRE.				Lagnceston	64
Bedwin	1790, 1804	Altemon	1795	Lidgeven	99
Chilton	1791	Bolleney	81	Moufe-hole	75
Newbury	72, 1804	Bodmin	1778, 1803	Mevgriffey	1770, 1803
		Bofcastle	1801	Millbrook	1789
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.		Breage	1789	Marazion	80
Buckingham	1789	Rlifsland	90	Maddron	94
High Wycombe	66	Burrien	99	Mullion	91
Stuckley	1800	Baffole	94	Mylor	92
Chefham	1768	Bethsheba	00	Mawnan	96
		Cambourne	1803	Mount Hawke	94
		Callington	1804	Newlin	91
CAMBRIDGESHIRE.		Calfcot	1884	North Country	92
Long Sutton	1780	Cuthbert	1786	Penzance	78
Wisbeach	81	Coppertoufe	80	Penryn	88
		Crowan	88	Perranwell	81
		Chaulstow	98	Probus	86
CHESHIRE.		Camelsford	85	Pendpounds	79
Afton	1803	Cubert	91	Polperro	90
Altringham	1786	Carnkie	97	Padstow	92
Bullock Smithy	85	Cannegy	94	Port-Isaac	70
Chester	56	Deverall	93	Port-Killoe	80
Congleton	65, 1803	Flushing	97	Port-Livin	88
Faddenhy	1804	Falmouth	78	Perran	90
Frodham	1792, 1803	Fowey	1800	Redruth	60
Knutsford	1794	Gerrens	1800	Sticker	84
Kettleholme	96	Gwennap	1770	Stithians	86
Lane-end	1803	Goldsthem	78	Saint Roch	90
Lima	1781	Germore	98	St. Jult	43
Mottram	92	Gurithan	92	St. Ives	43
Macclesfield	64	Hale	84	St. Agnes	80
Marple	1804	Helfstone	94	St. Michael's Mount	90
		Indian Queen	89	St. Leven	89

St. Creet	1794	Marham	1796	Hartle-pool	1787
St. Aville	86	Melbourne	89	Hilton-ferry	76
St. Stephens	80	Normanton	90	Lumley	24
St. Hilary	66	New mill	70	Monkwearmouth	66
St. Columbe	98	Ripley	1803	Mount	77
St. Constantine	94	Spoonden	1799	Norton	81
St. Keveran	93	Sewley	1800	Penshaw	78
St. Faith	96	Tilsall	1793	Stockton	69
St. Just	81	Ticknall	91	Sunderland	59
St. Mawes	1803	Titchall	96	South-Shields	70
Sanders Lane	1794	Hathafare	91	Stanhope	84
Treure	68	Woodhouse	97	Tetfale	82
Tregear	89			Wardale	82
Tregony	60	DEVONSHIRE.			
Tuckingmill	80	Axminster	1787	Woltingham	86
Trefilion	92	Buckfast Leigh	1801	Winlton	94
Tor-point	94	Buckingham	1795	Whickham	92
Trewellard	89	Barnstable	96	ESSEX.	
Triedweddock	94	Collumpton	72	Barking	1788
Troune	96	Exeter	79	Bradfield	88
Trevane	64	Hallburton	80	Colchester	59
Trefilion Bridge	94	Kingslands	90	Grays	89
Trifpin	1803	Kingston	90	Harwich	88
Tregomena	95	Milbrook	92	Layton	90
Thughanway	94	Plymouth	79	Manning tree	91
Veryan	82	Plymouth Dock	84	Stratford	90
Wail	89	Sidmouth	72	Tattingston	92
Whealrofe	85	St. Mary's Church,	1800	Holbrook	1803
Zunior	94	Tavistock	1775	Brightlandsea	1804
103 Cornwall.		Tiverton	67	GLOUCESTERSHIRE.	
CUMBERLAND.		DORSETSHIRE.		In Bristol, 3 Chapels, viz.	
Alstone,	1766	Blanford	1790	1 King Street	1795
Carlisle	77	Fontmill	97	2 Guinea Street	79
Cockermouth	80	Gillingham	94	3 Portland Street	92
Gambleby	78	Lyme	91	Baptist Mills *	1800
Ninth-head	88	Melcombe	78	Beazley	1784
White-haven,	59	Pool	80	Bath-Easton	91
DERBYSHIRE.		Portland-Island	86	Cirencester	90
Ashbourne	1771	Shaftsbury	56	Dursley	99
Buxton	91	Weymouth	97	Glocester	86
Bilpar	82	DURHAM.		King'swood	46
Bradwell	68	Barnard Castle	1766	Littleworth	90
Breeden	90	Bishop Auckland	92	Okeridge	88
Chesterfield	95	Bolden	93	Stroud	63
Chapel-le-frith	80	Burnop-field	91	Tewksbury	68
Cretch	65	Cotherstone	96	Thornbury,	89
Derby	65	Chester-le-street	87	Winchcombe	89
Duffield	77	Charterhaugh	84	Wickwar	88
Draycott	90	Colliery Dykes	92	Winterbourne	80
Elm	81	Durham	70	Warmley	1800
Grindleford Bridge	76	Darlington	71	Warminster	1804
Hayfield	86	Gatehead-Fell	64	HAMPSHIRE.	
Horsley	90	Greenfue	86	Baughurst	1795
Ilkington	90				

* It was near this Chapel that Mr. Wesley first preached in the open air.

Portsmouth	1760
Portsea	80
Southampton	98
Timbury	74
Winchester	85
White-church	59

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Kington	1802
Weston, near Penyard	1802

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Barnett	1774
Brickhill	80
Baldock	92
Hinkfworth	84
Stevenage	94
Hertford	68

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Huntingdon	1777
St. Ives	84
St. Neot's	90
Kempsterd	1803

KENT.

Bromley	1790
Brumpton	88
Canterbury	64
Chatham	70
Dover	76
Deptford	1802
Dartford	1790
Greenwich	96
Knockholt	1801
Oxford	1800
Maidstone	1788
Margate	85
St. Peter	88
Sittingbourne	90
South-Porough	98
Sandwich	94
Seven Oaks	74
Sheerness	81
Tunbridge	80
Woolwich	96
The Wild of Seven Oaks	1800
Tenter-linn	1796
Sittingbourn	1803
Briffingham	1804

LANCASHIRE.

Accrington	1803
Prinshall Hall	1803
Bakup	1760
Bury	71
Bolton-la-moors	50
Burnley	87
Blackburn	86
Barton	96
Bolton-Hall	94
Cliethero	95
Coln	76
Chorley	92
Davy-hulme	78
Darwen	94
Fairsworth	89
Hastlendon	98
Lancaster	1790—1804
Lamershead-green	1790
Leigh	90
Levenshulme	96
Liverpool, 3 chapels, viz.	
1 Pitt-street	1766
2 Mount Pleasant	90
3 Leeds street	1802
Manchester, 3 chapels, viz.	
1 Oldham-street	1770
2 Salford	87
3 Dean's-gate	1800
Mill-end	1761
Middleton	82
Mythomroyd Bridge	1804
Oldham	1775
Preston	87
Prestcott	91
Todmerden	84
Rochdale	70
Padiham	78
Warrington	78
Wigan	75

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Ashby de-la-Zouch	72
Ansty	95
Barrow	91
Barwell	96
Castle Donnington	70
Coiton	1804
Difeworth	1795
Deisborough	1800
Griffy-dam	1776
Hinckly	80
Heather	92
Hatborn	91

Hartshorn	1803
Kegworth	1794
Leicester	75
Loughborough	75
Long-claxton	93
Long-Wharton	97
Medbourne	1802
Markfield	1770
Mount-forrel	85
Meecham	94
Melton-Mowbray	96
Sleephead	90
Swanington	95
Silby	97
Syston	96
Wimelfould	98
Woodhouse	93
Thurilton	94
Sutton	96

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Rinbrook	1796
Clethorpe	1803
Conningby	1779
Cowland	1801
Dunnington	1804
Epworth	1758
Ferry	90
Grimby	68
Gainsborough	1785—1803
Gunnerby	1790
Grantham	91
Narrow	1780—1803
Boston	1792
Horncastle	69
Lincoln	91
Lowth	1759—1804
Langham row	1780
Miserton	83
Mark-ett-rasin	1800
Middle-rasin	1800
Newton	1790
Nanby	99
Owlton	90
Kirk-town	98
Rou'e	94
Scotter	99
Tealby	76
Spalding	81
Stamford	1800
Tetney	1784

MIDDLESEX.

Bow	1770
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Brentford	1774
Chelsea	1800
Kentish-town	1790
London chapels, 9, viz.	
1, New Chapel,	1777
2 Great Queen Street	
	1798
3 Spitalfields	50
4 Snowfields	43
5 Lambeth-Marsh	90
6 Wapping 1764,	1803
7 Chandler-Street	1801
8 Saffron Hill	1791
9 Moxtou-Square	64
Paplar	92
Tottenham	99
Twickenham	1800
Walworth	1804

MONMOUTH.

Chepstow	1801
Earlwood	1791
Monmouth	97

NORFOLK.

Drifton	1790
Diss	79
Fakenham	81
Heddenham	90
Lynn	75
Lodden	72
Norwich	70
North-Walham	90
Southrepps	98
Thetford	94
Thuriton	99
Walsingham	82
Wells	81
Yarmouth	92
Snettisham	1801
New-Buckingham	1803

NORTHAMPTONSH.

Brackley	1790
Brainstone	86
Desborough	86
Daventry	1801
Higham Ferras	183
Irchester	92
Kettering	98
Northampton	75
Rance	96
Raunds	89
Whittlebury	63
Willingborough	94

Towcester	1776
Stamford	1803
Boughton	1804

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Alnwick	1786
Allendale	78
Byker	90
Hartley	79
Hexham	90
Kinley	52
Newcastle upon Tyne	43
North Shields	59
St Anthon's	89
Prudho	70
Placey	71

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Blidworth	89
Bullwell	88
Bingham	92
Bridgford	94
Carlton	87
Calverton	90
Cropwell	89
East-Leake	94
Edmonton	1804
Epperton	1795
Farnsfield	96
Flintham	1804
Gotham	1790
Great-Leek	89
Hinchling	1801
Ilkinton	1794
Kirby	90
Kimberly	1804
Long Eaton	1796
Lenton	98
Mansfield	90
Nottingham	98
Maisterton	97
Mattersey	98
Newark	80
Normanton	82
Oxton	90
Plungor	98
Ruddington	98
Radcliff	96
Radford	1804
Retford	1799
Stableford	98
Sutton Ashfield	96
Sutton Bunsington	98
Topping	96
Tuxford	1804

Walkeringham	1799
Wheatley	94

OXFORDSHIRE.

Banbury	84
Chipping-Norton	97
Deddington	90
Islip	88
Marlon	89
Northleigh	92
Oxford	70
Watlington	90
Witney	70

RUTLANDSHIRE.

SHROPSHIRE.

Broseley	95
Coalbrook-Dale	92
Coal-pit-Bank	95
Cleobry	90
Clee-hill	94
Dowley-Bank	1803
Forest	1795
Ludlow	98
Madeley	80
Madeley-wood	79
Mitcham	92
Shrewsbury 1779,	1803
Wellington	1794
White Church	93

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Axbridge	1784
Buckland	76
Banwell	93
Bath	77
Clutton	82
Coleford	90
Corstley	86
Castle-Cary	90
Cheddar	1800
Ditcheat	1790
Frome	79
Frethford	82
Glastonberry	97
Keynham 1775,	1803
Kilmerdon	1786
Lymphim	85
Midsummer Norton	94
Nunney	89
Nailsea	93
Henon	94
Oak-hill	86

Pensford	1765	SURREY.	Stourbridge	1804	
Paulton	65		Coven	1803	
Radstock	90	Dorking	1771		
Midsummer-Norton	99	Godalmin	90	YORKSHIRE.	
Shepton Mallet	61	Mitcham	89		
Sutton	82	Peckham	85	Acomb	1790
Taunton	76	Rotherhithe	71	Armley	70
Pilton	94	Wanworth	92	Appleton Roe Buck	98
Mark	96			Akham Bryan	1802
Sanford	94	SUSSEX.		Ackworth	1787
Wrington	82			Acklem	89
Wrixham	90	Rye	1770	Arkingath-dale	90
West Pannard	89	Peas-marsh	98	Addington	91
Wellington	85	Winchelsea	89	Alford	1803
Wedmore	1800			Aldborough	1803
Wells	1792	WARWICKSHIRE.		Birhall	1747
		Birmingham 3 chapels, viz.		Bramley	85
STAFFORDSHIRE.		1 Cherry-street	1764	Bramley	1802
Alrewas	1802	2 Colehill-street	92	Barnsley	1780
Burslem	1768	3 Deretend-street	96	Barwick	1803
Buton-upon-Trent	66	Coventry	90	Beverley	1791, 1804
Bloxwich	80	Harbury	90	Bradford	1756
Bilstone	84	Tysoe	96	Bradford West	1794
Biddle-moor	86			Bridlington Quay	95
Chefferton	90	WESTMORELAND.		Bridlington	1770, 1803
Darlaston	90			Bradshaw	1774
Doveredge	1804	Appleby	1772	Bingley	70
Flath	1788	Keneall	84	Beil-busk	90
Hanley-green	83	Kirkbythuer	90	Buh-iffh	94
Hollinsclough	99			Brumpton	94
Lane-end	81	WILTSHIRE.		Chapel Town	91
Leek	85			Cudworth	98
Longnor	1780, 1803	Anborn	1785	Copmanthorpe	96
Newcastle-under-line	1777	Bedwin	87	Clifford	96
		Bradford	67	Ca wood	90
Olbury	1800	Bradley	1804	Cockpit houses	1802
Stoke	1790	Broomham	1790	Crake	1787
Rolleston	1802	Kinewood	1804	Dronfield	90
Stafford	1785	Melfham	1784	Dewsbury	89
Paper-mill	98	Princesend	1804	Delph	80
Tiptog-green	50	Salisbury	1759	Driffield	87
Tunstead	88	Shelborne	90	Doncaster	1770, 1803
Tamworth	94	Scend	91	Denholme	1792
Wolverhampton	66	Tinhead	92	Denbigh-dyke side	99
Wednesbury	60	Trowbridge	86	Ecclethall	70
Walfal	1801	Road	88	Easingwood	85
West-Bromwich	1794	Wilton	80	Elgarth	79
				Farnley	98
		WORCESTERSHIRE.		Flamborough	96
SUFFOLK.				Ferrybridge	1800
Rury St. Edmonds	1766	Bewdley	1785	Frodingham	1794
Bunay	1802	Benworth	94	Great Land	79
Lowestoft	1767	Dudley	64	Great-Horton	91
North Cove	86	Kidderminster	1791, 1803	Hunslet	79
Southwold	98	Stourport	1787	Holbeck	85
Lakenheath	57	Worcester	72	Ilorbury	60
		Gornal	1803	Horseforth	98
				Halsfax	54

Hull	1764, 1803	Scarborough	1766	CARNARVONSHIRE.	
Hutton-Rudby	1759	Settle	94	CARDIGANSHIRE.	
Howden	80	Snaith	72	DENBIGHSHIRE.	
Honley	1804	Sourby	86	Denbigh	1801
Hallam	1790	Sproatley	1804	Ruthin	1802
Huddersfield	98	Stainland	1758	Wrexham	1795
Heptonstall	66	Staincross	99	FLINTSHIRE.	
Harrowgate	98	Selby	85	Flint	1802
Haworth	70	Stokesley	66	Northorp	1802
Haxby	81	Shipley	99	Holking	1802
Holme	94	Swainton	1802	GLAMORGANSHIRE.	
Haram	95	In Swaledale 3 chapels		Brigend	1780
Hemfley blackmoor	96	1 Gunnerside	1780	Cardiff	43
Hemsworth	94	2 Lowraw	81	Cowbridge	80
Hornley	92	3 Rceth	82	Merthyr Tydville	90
Hornby	91	In Sheffield 3 chapels.		Llanathy	90
Kefwick	96	1 Norfolk-street	45	Neath	87
Kippax	96	2 Garden-street	80	Swansea	71
Keighley	66	3	1803	MONTGOMERYSH.	
Kirby-moorside	94	Thornor	1766	Bervieu	1794
Killinghall	94	Tingley	80	Llaneodloes	1802
Knaton	90	Thirsk	66	Llanver	1802
Kilham	95	Tadcaster	74	Welch-pool	1788
In Leeds 2 chapels, viz.		Tockwith	90	MERIONETHSHIRE.	
1 St. Peter-street,	1757	Toullerton	95	PEMBROKESHIRE.	
2 Albion-street	1802	Tanfield	99	Haverfordwest	1770
Lettherstall	1804	Thurston	98	Marles	90
Linffits	1804	Thorne	72	Spittle	97
Lettingham	1804	Ullestelf	80	Pembroke	70
Long-Preston	1784	Knarsborough	96	Roche	84
Loft-house	90	Wistow	90	RADNORSHIRE.	
Long-Scales	96	West-gate hill	91	BERWICK-UPON	
Malton	74	Whiteley-wood	88	TWEED.	
Middleham	81	Woodhouse	87	Berwick	1774
Mirfield	78	Wortley	98	IN SCOTLAND.	
Market Wiaghton	81	Weeton	95	ABERDEENSHIRE.	
Morley	69	Wakefield	74	Aberdeen	1764
Mallham	90	Whithy	64	Inverary	87
Knottingley	97	Wetherby	89	Old Meldrum	90
Nafferton	94	Witchfield	94		
North Allerton	89	Yeadon	70		
Otley	70	Yarm	68		
Oisef	78	York	1757, 1804		
Ofmotherly	60	152 in Yorkshire.			
Pontefract	87	IN WALES.			
Pudsey	74	ANGLESEA.			
Pickering	84	BRECKNOCKSHIRE.			
Pateley-Bridge	87	Hay	1790		
Pocklington	71	Brecon	71		
Rothwell	66	Knayton	1804		
Rotherham	64	CARMARTHENSHIRE			
Robinhood's-bay	71	Carmarthen	1776		
Rillington	1803	Thornilly	96		
Rippon	1755				
Pannell	78				
Seacroft	50				
Seathorne	1803				
Skipton-in-Craven	1791				
Sheriff-Hutton	94				

ANGUSSHIRE.					
Montrose	1790	Douglas	1782	Mullyhead	1792
		Dawby	83	Keady	96
		Greeby	84	Portadown	94
AYRSHIRE.		Howe	85	Scotch-street	94
		Jurby	86	Tanderagee	1774
Ayr	1792	Kirk-Lonnan	85		
		Kirk-Concan	89	CAVAN COUNTY.	
		Kirk-Braddin	89	Baillieborough	1805
BAMFFSHIRE.		Kirk-Michal	90	Ballyhays	1780
Bamff	1792	Peltown	84	Bally-Connell	83
Keith	96	Rarsley	79	Belrurbett	82
		Sulby	85	Cavan	90
				Coohill	88
DUMFRIESHIRE.		IN THE NORMAN ISLES.		Killefandra	1805
Dumfries	1778				
		IN JERSEY.		CLARE COUNTY.	
EDINBURGHSHIRE.		St. Hilier's	1788	Killaloe	1790
Dalkeith	1785				
Edinburgh	63	IN GUERNSEY.		CORK COUNTY.	
Leith	72	St. Peter's Port	1789	Bandon	1758
				Bantry	1804
ELGINSHIRE.		ALDERNEY.		In Cork City 3 chapels	
Elgin	1786	Alderney	1789	of Hammond's Marsh	
FORFARSHIRE.		IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT.		2 Black-Pool	90
Arbroath	1770	Godhill	1790	3 Patrick-Street	1805
Brechin	84	Newport	80	Dunmanaway	1790
Dundee	69	Wootenbridge	91	Gurteen	1803
				Innifhannon	1792
HADDINGTONSHIRE.		IN THE ISLES OF SCILLY.		Kinsale	89
Dunbar	1788			Mallow	89
				Newmill	91
INVERNESSHIRE.		St. Mary's	1794	Tallow	90
Inverness	1770			Youghall	92
		IN IRELAND.		CARLOW COUNTY.	
LANERKSHIRE.		ANTRIM COUNTY.		Carlow	1780
Glasgow	1770	Belfast	1787	Hacketstown	1802
		Ballymena	81	Colliery	1794
ROXBUGHSHIRE.		Baltycastle	90	Garrowhill	1804
Melrose	1790	Blackwatertown	92		
Kelfo	69	Lisburne	74	DONEGAL COUNTY.	
		Portaferry	90	Bally-Shannon	1787
				Rath-Melton	98
IN THE ISLE OF MAN.		ARMAGH COUNTY.		Ballintra	90
Balla-Salla	1776	Armagh	1790		
Balla-Pafon	77	Bluestone	92	DOWN COUNTY.	
Balla-Kaneen	78	Charlemount	72	Down-Patrick	1778
Balla-Mcor	90	Clanmaine	90	Dromore	1804
Ballaugh	79	Derryanville	84	Newry	1789
Bear-Garrow	80	Lurgan	79	Warren's-point	80
Cattle-Town	77			Killough	1804

DUBLIN COUNTY.		Killyheen 1798	Strokes Town 1794
Dublin City 5 chapels.		Limerick 63	
1 White-Friar-st.	1752	Ballygarane 97	SLIGO COUNTY.
2 Gravel-Walk	70	Court-Matris 58	
3 German-Church	1795	Curlefsbratton 1804	Sligo 1796
4 Wesley Chapel	1800	Pallas 60	Riverstown 90
5 Ranelagh	1801		
FERMANAGH CO.		LONDONDERRY CO.	TIPPERARY CO.
Brookborough	1786	Ballinderry 1781	Carrick-on-fuir 1780
Ballinamallard	87	Colerain 80	Bawnlea 90
Enniskillen	80	Londonderry 68	Clonmell 88
Lisbellaw	81	Newton-Lemivady 73	Cashell 90
Maguire's-bridge	1804		Roscrea 94
Newton Butler	1790	LONGFORD COUNTY	Tipperary 84
Pettigo	95	Kenagh 1779	
Violet-hill	96	Killeshee 88	TYRONE COUNTY.
		Granard 90	
		Longford 74	Aughnacloy 1805
GALWAY COUNTY.		Newton Forbes 94	Calidon 1782
Aughrim	1780	LOUTH COUNTY.	Cole Island 92
Ballinasloe	90		Dungannon 86
Tuam	94	Collon 1805	Moy 86
		Drogheda 80	Newtown Stewart 88
KERRY COUNTY.		Dunlalk 90	Strabane 89
Miltown	1792	Rochdale 98	
KILDARE COUNTY.		MAYO COUNTY.	WATERFORD CO.
Monasterevan	1797	Castlebar 1760	Tallow 1791
		West-port 91	Waterford 58
KILKENNY COUNTY.		MEATH COUNTY.	
Bennett's-town	1805		WESTMEATH CO.
Cattle-Comer	1790	MONAGHAN CO.	
Durrow	91	Clones 1775	Athlone 1762
Kilkeny	72	Drumbulton 80	Kill beggin 90
Pull-town	88	Monaghan 77	Mullingar 92
		New Blifs 90	Moat 87
KING'S COUNTY.		Rock-corry 94	Tyrrel's Pass 62
Birr	1768	QUEEN'S COUNTY.	WEXFORD COUNTY.
Ederderry	51		
Philip's Town	81	Abbeyleix 1790	Enniscorthy 1763, 1804
Shinone	90	Ballypaphan 90	New Ross 1780
Tullamore	60	Colebury 93	Wexford 88
		Mountmellick 64	
LEITRIM COUNTY.		Mountrath 1768, 1805	WICKLOW COUNTY.
Manorhamilton	1804	Maryborough 1798	
		Portarlinton 60	Carnew 1794
LIMERICK.		R OSCOMMON CO.	Wicklow 1800
Adare	1803	Boyle 1790	

The Number of Chapels.

In England	804	In Ireland	112
In Wales	27	In Scotland	20
In the Isle of Man	19	In the Norman Isles	3
In the Isle of Wight ..	3	In the Isles of Scilly	1
In Berwick upon Tweed	1		

Total in the United Kingdom 1020 *

The Methodists have no *one* general rule for building their Chapels. The following are the directions which Mr. Wesley gave on this head.—“1. Build all Preaching-houses, where the ground will permit, in the octagon form. It is best for the voice, and on many accounts more commodious than any other. 2. Let every octagon house be built after the model of *Yarm*; every square house after the model of *Bath* or *Searborough*. 3. Let the roof rise only one third of its breadth: this is the true proportion. 4. Have doors and windows enough: and let all the windows be sashes opening downwards. 5. Let there be no Chinese paling, and no tub-pulpit, but a square projection with a long seat behind. 6. Let there be no pews and no backs to the seats, which should have aisles on each side, and be parted in the middle by a rail running all along to divide the men from the women, just as at *Bath*. 7. Let all Preaching-houses be built plain and decent; but not more expensive than is absolutely necessary. 8. Wherever a Preaching-house is built see that lodgings for the preachers be built also.”†

Since Mr. Wesley's death the form of building the chapels is generally as follows. The proportion of the length to the breadth is as 21 to 13. The pulpit faces the front, with the communion table just before it, or else behind it. They are galleried all round except on the side where the pulpit stands, and the galleries are constructed in an oval form. They are pewed and let to families; the places in each chapel which are free, are divided, one part for the men and another part for the women, who always sit separate in those places.†

* This list comprehends also those Preaching-Houses which have been built from 1802 to 1805.

† In Ireland no Pews are suffered to be built in the Preaching-Houses, which is certainly conformable to Mr. Wesley's request.

Rules for building Chapels, and raising Collections for defraying the Expences of them.

At the English Conference in 1786, it was asked, *Question.* Is there any further direction to be given to secure the proper settlement of our Preaching-houses? *Answer.* Let no assistant make, or suffer to be made, in his respective Circuit, a collection for any Preaching-house, till every step be previously taken to secure it on the Conference plan, by a trust-deed, a bond, or sufficient articles of agreement.

And in 1788, it was added, Let no house be built on any consideration, till the ground be first settled on the Conference-plan.

In the large minutes published in the year 1789. Q. 70. May any new Preaching-houses be built? *A.* Not unless, 1. They are proposed at the Conference: No nor, 2. Unless two thirds of the expence be subscribed. And if any collection be made for them, it must be made between the Conference and the beginning of February.

At the Conference in 1792, it was asked, "What directions are to be given concerning the raising of money in the Circuits for erecting and paying the debts of houses? *A.* 1. No collection shall be made in any Circuit for the abovementioned purpose, without the consent of the Conference, 2. No collection shall be made by any other person than a travelling Preacher.

And in 1795, it was added, No steps shall be taken towards the building of Preaching-houses without the consent of the Conference first obtained.

SECTION IX.

The Conclusion, extracted from Myles's Chronology.

THE following is a Statement of the comparative increase of the Members of the Societies, and of the Itinerant Preachers and their families, in Great Britain and Ireland, from the year 1770 to the 1800.*

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Preachers.</i>	<i>Families.</i>
1770	29,406	120	43
1780	43,830	171	52
1790	71,568	291	98
1800	109,961	417	216

In the year 1770, a Preacher was supported by two hundred and forty-five members, and a family by six hundred and eighty-three. One-third of the Preachers were married.

In the year 1780, a Preacher was supported by two hundred and forty-six members, and a family by eight hundred and forty-three, nearly one-third of the Preachers were married.

In the year 1790, a Preacher was supported by two hundred and forty-five members, and a family by seven hundred and thirty. One third of the Preachers were married.

In the year 1800, a Preacher was supported by two hundred and sixty-three members, and a family by five hundred and nine. Above one half of the Preachers were married.

From this statement it appears, that the Preachers have not increased in a greater proportion than the people, as some who departed from the work have invidiously asserted. But the families certainly have increased since the year 1790 in a greater

Just as this part of the work was preparing for press, an interesting account of the state of the Methodist Societies in America came to hand, as published by the venerable Dr. Ashbury, who has long presided over the connexion there, and whose labours God has greatly blessed. It relates to the increase within 36 years, and announces, that in the United States and Canada, 120,000 persons are in fellowship, and that one million attended their ministry, so as to include a seventh part of the whole population of the United States! The success attending the preaching of the gospel in America has been unexampled! There are now in America 400 travelling and 2000 local preachers. The Doctor observes that the cause has profited much since the Conference in May 1802, and lately they have held 2 or 300 extraordinary meetings, with great effect.

greater proportion than formerly; nor is it possible to prevent this without making unscriptural rules.

In this great work, which we have now traced from its rise to the present time, the blessing and protection of the Lord has been abundantly manifested. At the beginning the Preachers were often treated in the most brutal manner by lawless mobs; but a tolerant and upright government have always afforded relief in these persecutions. Two instances (and two only) of legal persecution, one in the Island of St. Vincent's, in the West Indies, in the year 1793, the other in the Island of Jersey, in the year 1798, were soon suppressed. The King refused his assent to laws purposely made to deprive the societies of the blessing of religious liberty. The throne of our King is thus established in righteousness, and it is more than ever the duty of the Methodists to pray, *that no weapon formed against him may prosper.*

In the year 1801, the Missionaries in the Islands of St. Christopher and Nevis, presented an address to Lord Lavington, on his re-appointment to the office of Captain General and Governor in chief in and over the Leeward Charibbee Islands, expressive of their satisfaction at his appointment, and esteem for his person, together with professions of their loyalty and attachment to the King and Constitution.

Part of his Excellency's answer was as follows. "I have it in command from his Majesty, to allow throughout my government full liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of all such modes of religious worship as are not prohibited by law. My own private disposition is in perfect unison with the royal pleasure upon this subject; and I am persuaded, that your quiet and peaceable enjoyment of this toleration, and your prudent care, that government have at no time, cause to take offence at your indiscreet exercise of it, will prove you deserving of the protection which you solicit, and which is extended to you."

At the beginning of this great work, the Preachers and people had but few rules to walk by, but they were powerfully influenced by a spirit of holiness, and an earnest desire to promote it in all people. It is now our duty to pray, that our many excellent rules may increase, not lessen this great vital principle.

We shall close this history with a short view of the doctrines which the Methodists believe and teach.

1. They set out with professing to be Bible Christians. They receive the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the rule of their faith and practice.

2. They

2. They believe and teach the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, declaring that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; and yet there are not three Gods, but one God.

3. They believe and teach, that all men are by nature, sinful, guilty, and helpless, and without the grace of Christ can do nothing that is good. And they labour in all their discourses to make men sensible of their fallen and lost estate.

4. They believe and teach, that the Son of God became a son of man, and died as an atonement for the sins of all mankind. The divinity of Christ, and his atonement, they consider as essential truths of the gospel.

5. That Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, and that he is able to save from all sin in this life, those that come unto God through him.

6. That we must be inspired by the Spirit of God, in order that we may be enlightened, quickened, comforted, purified, and made meet for heaven.

7. That it is through the exercise of repentance and faith a sinner comes to a saving experimental knowledge of God, and that Christ is exalted at the Father's right hand to give repentance and remission of sins to all that call upon him.

8. That a believer should grow in grace, glorifying God in that station in life in which the providence of God has placed him, and looking to be filled with all the fulness of God.

9. That a believer need never fall from grace; but that he assuredly will, if he neglects to watch and pray. He will fall into sin, and thereby lose the favour and image of God.

10. That a believer should constantly live in the exercise of faith and prayer, and that all the means of grace are intended to feed these heavenly graces in their hearts, as well as to be instrumental in turning sinners from the error of their ways.

11. That the souls of the faithful are present with the Lord after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh; and that Christ will come to judge the world in righteousness; that there will be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust.

12. That the righteous shall inherit eternal life; and the wicked be doomed to eternal misery.

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